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ABSTRACT

The papers included here examine issues related to the role outside specialists, such as linguists, educators, or media professionals, can play in the preservation of endangered languages. Language communities must continue to use their mother tongues if the languages are to survive, and this has led to questions about whether outside organizations have the right to intervene. The proceedings of the second annual Foundation for Endangered Languages (FEL) Conference is divided into several sections. "Successful Interactions" section includes three reports from linguists and educators on work with three different communities, with an outlook on what has been learned and the challenges for the future. "Understanding the Language from the Outside" is more sociolinguistic in orientation, looking at large communities more dispassionately, from a perspective other than that of an active collaborator. "Understanding From the Inside" turns to the communities' own levels of aspiration: what linguists can do to effectively ally themselves with these levels. "New Role of Information Technology" explores how small languages can take advantage of new media for self-preservation. "Taking Stock" offers an overview of the predicament, the aims, and the duties of the would-be helper, from three different points of view. (KFT)

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FOUNDATION FOR ENDANGERED LANGUAGES

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Endangered Languages

What Role for the Specialist?

Proceedings of the Second FEL Conference

held at the Pollock Halls, University of Edinburgh
25—27 September 1998

Editor: Nicholas Ostler

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The Foundation for Endangered Languages
UK Registered Charity 1070616

is based at

Batheaston Villa
172 Bailbrook Lane
Bath BA1 7AA
England

tel +44-1225-852865
fax +44-1225-859258

e-mail nostler@chibcha.demon.co.uk

http://www.bris.ac.uk/Depts/Philosophy/CTLL/FEL/

Endangered Languages - What Role for the Specialist?

Foundation for Endangered Languages
Edinburgh, Scotland - 25-27 September 1998

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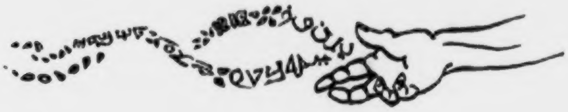

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Setting the Scene

Foreword

Endangered Languages - What Role for the Specialist?

Nicholas Ostler
Conference Chairman, and
President, Foundation for Endangered Languages
[nostler@chibcha.demon.co.uk]

In recent years, a number of support organizations[1] have established themselves, aiming to mobilize research effort, popular opinion and money in defence of declining languages.

The question is often raised of how these outsiders can really help the cause that they have identified. In order to survive, language communities must have their own inner strength, or at least the will and the means to go on using their traditional tongues. But such qualities can never come directly from outside organizations, however well-meaning. This fact has led some to ask whether the organizations even have the right to try to interfere.

This conference, the second organized by the Foundation for Endangered Languages, is seeking answers to one part of this question. How can language specialists, whether professional linguists, educators, media professionals or whoever, actually contribute to language maintenance?

When it was first announced (in February 1998), it immediately led to world-wide controversy on the Endangered Languages electronic list, essentially on whether the funds that attendees and others will devote to realizing this event could be better spent directly on projects within communities whose languages are endangered. The controversy was totally about means rather than ends, and I am grateful to its instigator, Marion Gunn. In effect, she has highlighted an important point: the investment we have all made in this conference is only worthwhile if it leads in the end to more copious, more perceptive and more effective work in the communities themselves. Personal determination is important for this, but so is the enlisting of informed support.

In this volume are assembled a various set of partial answers, which together may educate outsiders on how, when, and to whom they can best offer their services. The situations of languages are as varied as any aspect of human life; so it is seldom that anyone's experience can be directly applied elsewhere. But an active and humble sense of the possible variety — of background situations, prospects for the future, and indeed aspirations by communities — is the first requirement for any language specialist.

The keynote address is by Donna Gerdts, who has over twenty years of experience of language work with the Halkomelem people of British Columbia: she considers how it comes about that the linguist and the responsible members of the community so often appear to be pulling in different directions, even when there is mutual respect.

The sections which follow adjust our focus in various ways. *Successful Interactions* includes three reports from linguists (Jancewicz, Grondona) and educators (Reyhner, Cantoni) on work with different communities, with an outlook on what has been learned and the challenges for the future. *Understanding the Language from the Outside* is more sociolinguistic in orientation, looking at language communities more dispassionately — i.e. from a different perspective than that of active collaboration How do members of highly mixed communities view their own language affiliation, and reveal (or conceal) it

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[1] Besides the Foundation for Endangered Languages, these include, with a global focus, UNESCO's International Clearing House for Endangered Languages, the Endangered Language Fund, Terralingua-Partnerships for Linguistic and Biological Diversity, Gesellschaft für bedrohte Sprachen, Observatoire des Langues Régionales et Minoritaires,the Linguistic Society of America's Committee on Endangered Languages and their Preservation, as well as many more with regional foci. For a list of such organizations, see: http://cougar.ucdavis.edu/nas/terralin/endlangs.html

(Jahn)? How should outsiders react to what they see as a false sense of linguistic security in a community (Quesada)? How do the situations of languages in one part of the world (e.g. under a particular administration) compare with others of which we know more (Salminen)? Are there objective measures of language endangerment, valid at least within given areas (Landweer)? *Understanding from the Inside* turns rather to communities' own level of aspiration: what linguists can do to ally themselves with it effectively (Furbee, Stanley, Arkeketa) ; how it can be threatened by the requirements of a country's political and legal framework (Hardie).

All these aspects have been with languages throughout recorded history. The *New Role of Information Technology* by contrast picks on aspects that are unprecedented: how can small languages position themselves to take full advantage of new media in speech and text processing (Petek), and the degree to which the new modes of interaction that they make available (e.g. e-mail) are compatible with traditional ways of expression in some of these language communities (MacDougall).

The final section *Taking Stock* attempts an overview of the predicament, the aims and the duties of the specialist would-be helper, from three very different points of view. Rhydwen considers the personal implications, and particularly the problem of "burn-out" characteristic of full-time concern for other people's problems; Valiquette looks more analytically at what is crucial in trying to preserve an endangered language; Yamamoto finally reviews what has been learnt from work undertaken in the USA in the 1990s, coming up with some very practical recommendations.

The conference also hosts the third Annual General Meeting of the Foundation for Endangered Languages, the first at which the Foundation has been officially recognized as a Charity in the United Kingdom. It will set the course of the Foundation for the coming year, and so it is good that all attendees at the conference should have a copy of its Manifesto to hand. This is then the last item in this volume.

With such diversity of experience, we can expect lively, and perhaps heated, discussion on implications and priorities. The conference contains an open session at the end of the second day (26 September), when attendees who are not presenting formally can make their contributions: the set of abstracts of these contributions will form supplement to this volume. We intend that, as far as possible, all attendees should have the chance to participate actively: our experience should become mutual, and hence able to benefit us all, even if the fields where we apply it are diverse, and spread out all over the world.

Acknowledgements

All those at the Conference are indebted to Margaret Allen, who handled the bookings, and the local organizer Briony Williams. Jane Dunn Ostler kindly took charge of book production for this volume of Proceedings. The Pollock Halls have assisted us above and beyond the call of duty, especially in the vital early stages of our preparations.

The Programme Committee consisted of Akira Yamamoto, Andrew Woodfield, Anthony Woodbury, Tasaku Tsunoda, Jane Simpson, Mari Rhydwen, Jon Reyhner, David Nash, Christopher Moseley and Margaret Allen; and the Editor thanks them all for their timely help in evaluating the abstracts submitted, as well as for their guidance to the authors.

The Foundation also thanks the Linguistic Association of Great Britain, which has awarded us a grant in aid of our event; and Akira Yamamoto, who also made a financial contribution to it, in addition to all his intellectual and moral support on the Programme Committee.

Beyond Expertise: The Role of the Linguist in Language Revitalization Programs

Donna B. Gerdts
Dept. Linguistics, Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, British Columbia V5A 1S6 Canada
[gerdts@sfu.ca]

Abstract

We linguists see ourselves as the knights in shining armor of the language endangerment issue, while the Natives, especially those who do not speak the endangered language, see us at best as a necessarily evil. They are quick to criticize our work, and sometimes even litigate to keep the "foreign" experts under control. Why this gap? First, there is misunderstanding about what linguists do. Second, linguists cannot help with those aspects of the language program that are most crucial from the Natives' viewpoint. Finally, our inclusion in programs entails a loss of community control and autonomy. The socio-political agenda can easily override the urgency of the work. Understanding differences in viewpoint can help foster an environment of mutual respect, leading to a successful project. The linguist must learn to function as part of a team, and the community must learn to get the most out of their linguist in order to attain the shared goal—the revitalization of the language.

1. Background

This is a report on my efforts to help revitalize the Halkomelem language, a Salish language of southwestern British Columbia, Canada, with about 400 speakers, most of whom are aged sixty or older. When I was approached by Native communities to help with research and curriculum development, I was delighted with an opportunity to give back knowledge of the language I had learned to love to the grandchildren and great-grandchildren of the elders that had so graciously trained me. I had considerable expertise, based on twenty years of working on the language in the old-fashioned way, sitting with elders and asking questions. So I had developed adequate transcribing skills, detailed knowledge of syntactic constructions, an encyclopedic knowledge of the morphology, and an esoteric vocabulary. I had, like many linguistic researchers, only limited conversational ability and only fleeting exposure to relevant cultural contexts. I quickly discovered many shortcomings in my training and came to realize that I really knew very little about the language. Fortunately, I had strong support from other members of the research team—the elders, teachers, administrators, native speaker linguists, artists, and film students. I also relied heavily on other linguists studying Halkomelem, other Salishanists, and an ethnobiologist.

The research team has successfully produced a plethora of materials that are used by teachers and learners in kindergarten to grade 12 and post-secondary classes. The materials we have produced include a phonics book, a 250-page teaching grammar, and a 310-page 3500-word dictionary, all with accompanying audio or video tapes. Also, we have produced a variety of supporting materials, from bingo games to animal posters to a computerized talking dictionary. Nevertheless, there is a continuing specter of malaise and dissatisfaction surrounding our program. Some of this probably would have been there anyway due to old family feuds, political agendas, pressing social issues, bad working conditions for the teachers, etc. However, I have come to the conclusion that some of the distressing unpleasantness originates with me, the cultural outsider with the academic baggage. This paper tries to survey some of the pitfalls for a linguist, based on my own and other's experiences.

Put simply, linguistic expertise is not sufficient for successful participation in a language program. The linguist must develop social and political skills to be an effective member of a language revitalization team. My hope is that my candid discussion will not only provide some forewarning for linguists starting work on endangered languages, but also generate some response from more experienced researchers, who may be able to offer their advice on these matters. In addition, I hope that a frank discussion of the linguist's viewpoint can help lead to understanding on the part of the communities, universities, and governments. The linguist finds the work extremely difficult, time-consuming, and emotionally draining. The work is made less difficult when there is a supportive environment at work and at home.

I start the discussion with some comments on what linguists can contribute to language revitalization projects. Linguists take this information for granted and are perplexed by the reception they receive from Natives, which is often mixed or even hostile. I explore some of the shortcomings of the modern linguist that lead to difficulties. Next, I briefly explore what communities want. Their viewpoint is often different from the linguist's, producing a conflict in goals, priorities, work rhythms, and methods. The linguist, who sees the project from a top-down perspective, thinks first of major reference materials and academic publications. The community sees the project from a day-to-day viewpoint. Their priorities include supplying materials for the teachers for tomorrow's class, teaching community members a few words and phrases, and giving the elders a chance to meet and use the language. It quickly becomes apparent that the linguist cannot and should not take on the daily work needed by the community. Thus, the linguist is most useful as part of a language revitalization team. This is a difficult role for an academic to assume, since competitive, individualistic efforts are fostered and rewarded in the university setting. Furthermore, it is difficult for Natives to relinquish enough control to linguists to allow them to proceed with the work. Only through compromise can the work progress in a fashion that is satisfactory to all sides and that produces worthwhile short-term and long-term results.

2. What are linguists good for?

In this section, I discuss the need for a linguist in the language revitalization program. We linguists not only think of this as a foregone conclusion, but we tend to value our work more highly than other aspects of the project. However, from the point of view of the Native community, it is far from obvious that a linguist is wanted or needed. A perusal of reports on language education issues by government and aboriginal agencies reveals that linguists and the academic materials they produce are seldom mentioned.[1] Therefore, it is worthwhile to outline some of the contributions a linguist can make.

What a linguist can do depends of course on their talents, training, and experience. Here is a list of the most common activities that linguists engage in with respect to endangered languages:

- write reference materials and other scholarly works
- collect and archive materials
- help secure funding
- help produce educational materials
- train other linguists, including Native linguists
- help train teachers
- help teach the language
- serve as mediators between Natives and universities
- act as advocates for Native language programs
- serve as researchers or expert witnesses on matters involving language, including place names for land claims, genealogies for treaty research, ethnobiology for land use studies, and labels and translations for museum exhibits.

From the viewpoint of the field of linguistics, the most important work that a linguist can do on a project is write reference materials. Dixon (1997) calls for the linguistic community to mobilize around the issue of endangered languages. He would like to see reference materials for half of the world's languages produced in the next few years, before it is too late. He estimates that it takes three years full-time and US $200, 000 to support a linguist and pay expenses in order to write a descriptive grammar, a dictionary, and a collection of texts. However, in-depth studies of really significant aspects of the language may take many more years. Moreover, an audio-visual archive must be created to go along with the printed works. So a more reasonable estimate would be fifteen years and two million dollars. This would yield quality products that come from someone with real insight into the language and allow time to help train native speaker linguists and teachers. Of course, this time frame could be greatly accelerated if a team of linguists and other experts are working on a language together.

Perhaps Dixon's point is that we should get at least basic information on as many languages as possible. But members of a community take little solace in the fact that other languages are also dying or extinct. The explicitly stated goal of most language programs is full revitalization. Fishman (1991:395) discusses steps for reversing language shift—the process of a new language coming in and supplanting the original one. The first step is trying to reconstruct the language based on historical documents and research with the remaining elders and then teaching it to adults in the community. This takes a robust amount of material, especially when the language is unwritten and only a handful of elders speak it. Typically, basic reference material does not include the type of conversational or audio-visual material necessary for preparing educational materials. So the linguist's role in a community seeking to revitalize its language is much more complicated than simply writing up a sketch of the language and then leaving.

Linguists can help programs in other ways as well. Three major problems consistently identified by respondents to a survey concerning language programs were lack of funds, lack of curriculum material, and shortage of trained instructors (First Nations Languages and Literacy Secretariat, 1992:27). A linguist with a well-established reputation can help secure funds for a project. Many granting agencies are impressed by the inclusion of an academic in the team and by connections to a university. Professors can offer in-kind time to serve as matching funds on a grant proposal. Also, the linguist can often secure funds for research projects. This is discussed further in section 5 below.

Developing curriculum materials usually falls on Native language teachers, who often teach at several different grade levels and at several different schools each day for a fraction of the salary of a regular teacher. More is expected of the Native language teachers than of regular teachers, even though their training may be extremely limited and their literacy skills in the language may be poor. Imagine a French teacher or an English as a Second Language teacher being required to invent all of their own materials for several grade levels each day without the help of reference materials or popular cultural media. The linguist can help produce materials by supplying transcribed language data, proof-reading, and making suggestions about how to orient the curriculum from the point of view of the Native language. Well-meaning educators that do not speak the Native language try to take materials in the colonial language and then have them translated into the Native language, often with disastrous results. The difference between morphological, syntactic, and semantic patterns in the Native language and the colonial language makes this task difficult. Furthermore, since one goal of the program is to illustrate Native culture, it is pointless to write the material from the viewpoint of colonial culture.[2] For more advanced students, especially at the secondary or post-secondary level, the linguist can write curriculum, especially in conjunction with native speakers and teachers. In addition, the linguist can help produce multi-media support, including audio-video and computer materials.

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[1] See, for example, Green (1987), First National Language and Literacy Secretariat (1992), and Standing Committee on Aboriginal Affairs (1990).

A linguist, especially one with significant knowledge of the language, can train people in the structure of the language. A linguist can also help with literacy skills. Even if an oral method is used in class, teachers must read well enough to consult reference materials. If they are going to produce their own materials, then they should have excellent writing skills. As Kirkness (1998:47) notes: "A major problem continues to confront Indian people as they attempt to have Indian languages taught in schools. The ability to speak a language does not necessarily imply the ability to explain a language. Therefore, training for language teachers must be conducted and expanded. This requires linguistic study of the language." Craig (1992:22) notes: "The third key element in the Rama Language Project is its team of professional linguists. A key factor in the failure of the two previous attempts was the lack of professional training of the persons on whom the linguistic analysis fell."[3] We see then that linguists can provide important technical support for the Native language teachers.

Linguists can also be of assistance in teaching the language. Many times native speakers are expected to lead a course without materials, teaching experience, or training. A linguist who is a good teacher can be of great help in this situation. Many of the university-level language courses taught through Secwepemc Cultural Educational Society and Simon Fraser University involve a team of a linguist and a native speaker. Usually after one or two semesters the linguist becomes unnecessary, as the native speaker becomes comfortable directing the class and using the materials. In some cases, a language may be so far gone that no native speaker teachers are available. A linguist with conversational skills in the language can be of great help in this situation. The linguist can help run a course, preferably with the aid of elders, to teach adults the language. These adults in turn can help teach the children. Linguists must be careful in this situation to match the cultural style of the learners and to avoid putting too much emphasis on linguistic structure and phonetics as opposed to conversational ability. An important goal must be to train a community member to take over the course as soon as possible.

We see then that a linguist, especially one willing to spend the necessary time to become expert in the language, can make significant contributions to the Native community and can play an important role in a language revitalization project.

3. Why are linguists misunderstood?

One might think that the role of linguists would be self-evident, that their contributions would be obvious. However, in point of fact, the role of the linguist is often misunderstood and sometimes controversial. Furthermore, it is constantly being scrutinized and redefined. There are many reasons for this.

First, Natives may be suspicious about what motivates linguists to work on their language. After all, linguists are usually members of the culture that colonized the Natives, the culture that made overt attempts to suppress the language and in some cases even had a systematic policy of genocide. It sometimes seems ironic that the linguist is so eager to study the language now, and some hidden financial gain is suspected. However, career advancement is seldom a motivation for researching endangered languages. Field linguists are by-passed in the job market, and expertise in a Native language, unlike major languages such as French or Japanese, rarely leads to a position. Most linguists begin work on a language out of sheer curiosity. They find the study and analysis of a language that is very different from the European languages that they speak and have studied to be extremely challenging and interesting. Dixon (1997:134) summarizes this nicely:

"It is hard to convey the sheer mental exhilaration of field work on a new language. First, one has to recognise the significant analytic problems. Then alternative solutions may tumble around in one's head all night. At the crack of dawn one writes them down, the pros and cons of each. During the day it is possible to assess the alternatives, by checking back through texts that have already been gathered and by asking carefully crafted questions of native speakers. One solution is seen to be clearly correct—it is simpler than the others, and has greater explanatory power. Then one realises that the solution to this problem sheds light on another knotty conundrum that has been causing worry for weeks. And so on."

But what starts as an interesting puzzle often quickly turns into a matter of commitment to the elders and their community. Fieldwork is an intense experience for both linguists and speakers and can often lead to a bond of respect and friendship, which is sometimes resented by family members or community workers.

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[2] Nature words, colors, numbers, and shapes are usually the first things English-speaking teachers want to translate into Halkomelem. These are problematical because of the lack of generic terms in Halkomelem for concepts like 'animal', 'plant', and 'bird', the non-correspondence of English and Halkomelem color terms, the use of classifiers when counting many objects, and the lack of words meaning 'square', 'rectangle', or 'triangle'.

[3] There is sometimes resistance to the involvement of linguists in teacher training. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:84) point out that some teachers refuse help because they see a loss of face in taking instruction from someone who does not speak the language well, especially if that person is white and/or female.

The elders' deep commitment to preserving the language and to passing down wisdom to the younger generation rubs off on the linguist, who is entrusted with the mission of helping to save the language.

Often, the community does not understand what linguistics is and what linguists do. This is not surprising given the general lack of public knowledge about the field. We are used to being confused with polyglots or philologists. The field of linguistics has not been very successful at making inroads into arenas other than post-secondary education. Some may think our work centers on transcription or recording, not understanding the job of analysis that lies behind the research. Furthermore, they may see transcription as an easy or trivial task, having never tried it themselves.

Most people do not take the time to observe the linguist at work. After all, there are always administrative matters and urgent social problems to attend to. Mostly the work is done in private with a few elders and the occasional teacher involved. And sometimes observers have no point of reference for understanding the work in the context of an overall project. I am always delighted when younger family members attend the field session and listen to the elders pronouncing the language, but they seldom return a second time, having found our sessions too difficult to follow. Sometimes they drop by and misunderstand the nature of the work. In one group session, I was going over previously-collected vocabulary for cultural items that have not been in use for over twenty years. The elders found this to be an interesting process because sometimes words that they had not heard for decades came forth. A report came back to me later that the visitor had complained to the education officer that I was putting words in the elders' mouths.

Sometimes the project is slow to produce work, as the linguist struggles to get everything exactly right. In the meantime, the program may be underway and the teachers may be hurting for materials. The funding may have been exhausted with little actual product to show. Sometimes there is a finished work but no time or money to duplicate it for distribution. The elders involved in the research and their families are not given copies. Other times it is produced but sits on shelves waiting for an implementation budget to help train teachers in the use of the material.

When the project produces work, especially reference work, it is often "over the heads" of its intended audience. Native speakers find it difficult to use, even if they have some literacy skills. And non-speakers find it impenetrable. It was reported back to me that one education officer, who was not a speaker, criticized our teaching dictionary because she couldn't read it. Halkomelem has a formidable inventory of consonant phonemes, many of which have no English counterparts.[4] It also frequently uses consonant clusters not permitted in English and tends to have long, polysynthetic words. What is difficult to understand is why anyone would assume they could read a language of this type without some kind of training.

Also, the difference between doing research and actually speaking the language is misunderstood. If the linguist is not fluent in the language, how can they write it down or analyze it? If they are unable to converse in the language, then how can they prepare teaching materials or help teach the language? If they do speak it, then they are regarded with suspicion and jealousy by Natives that do not speak. They are sometimes criticized for their accents or their grammatical errors by the native speakers. If they are corrected in front of non-speakers, the word can spread that they are not good in the language and materials they produce become suspect. There is really no excuse for a linguist who is studying a language not to speak it, at least at the level of simple conversation. It is hypocritical to expect others to do what we are unwilling to do ourselves.

Some younger linguists, under pressure to publish theoretically-oriented papers, may dwell on data that are fairly esoteric and not perceived as useful for general educational purposes. The papers they produce are often tedious for other linguists to read, let alone a native speaker or educator. Sometimes younger scholars can be very disrespectful of previous descriptively-oriented work and overly enthusiastic about current theory. On the other hand, the older linguists may have done their research in the 1960s and 1970s, during the heyday of structuralist descriptive grammars. The linguists had strong relationships with consultants who are now deceased. They may not have good relationships with current elders and band administrators.[5]

Also, ties between the fields of anthropology and linguistics have broken down. Many younger scholars have little or no training in topics of cultural relevance, such as kin terms or the structure of texts. They may be inexperienced at research on place names, genealogy, and ethnobiology, or other topics that are of central importance to the community. In fact, many young scholars are not even trained in linguistic field methods. Or their field methods training is extremely shallow.[6] Linguistics programs have abandoned ear training and the study of linguistic analysis in favor of theory. Dixon (1997:128-138) discusses this point in detail.

However, the most important failing of modern linguistics limiting the usefulness of the linguist to a language revitalization program is the fact that it has almost totally abdicated its interest in language teaching. Knowledge of second language acquisition research and language teaching methods used to be considered an essential part of a linguist's training. Many linguists earned their livelihoods by teaching languages or by teaching linguistics in language departments. Linguistics was seen as an important subject for future teachers to train in, since it was believed that understanding the structure of the language would help one teach it. Then the trend in language teaching switched away from grammar and phonics and toward communicative approaches to language teaching. The emphasis was placed on whole language, total physical response, and immersion, and on student-generated materials. These methods were developed to address the problem of lack of conversational ability under traditional language teaching methods. Proponents of these theories claim that languages can be learned without tedious memorization, repetitions, or explanations, if a natural situation mimicking first language acquisition can be set up. Ironically, these methods have had only limited success. They require the right combination of dynamic teaching, motivated learners, community support, language use outside the classroom, and robust resource materials that help to bring the world into the classroom. Also, immersions and intensive courses may be difficult to mount in communities that lack native speaker teachers. Further research on these approaches, their accomplishments, their shortcomings, and their adaptation to endangered language revitalization is necessary before we can assess their effectiveness. In the meantime, Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:71) suggest: "What is needed is training in various teaching methods; in how to use existing materials and adapt them to one's own teaching style, personality, community setting, and grade level."

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[4] At least our practical orthography is systematic, without the nuisance of ambiguous pronunciation or silent letters.

[5] I have actually heard linguists mention that today's elders are not worth working with because they do not know the older, purer form of the language.

[6] I recently attempted to have the local Native language used in a field methods course, but it was considered too difficult, so Tagalog was selected instead.

In summary, we see that, while linguists have much to contribute to language revitalization programs, their work can be made difficult both by shortcomings in their own training and experience and also by lack of knowledge on the part of the community about what linguistics is and what linguists do.

4. What do communities want?

I start this section off with apologies to Verna Kirkness, Professor Emeritus and former director of the First Nations House of Learning at the University of British Columbia, who is reported to have said: "Every time a white person stands up to talk about Indians, I get knots in my stomach." (Haig-Brown, 1992:96) But to get a better picture of the gap between the Native and the linguistic perspective on language programs, we need to try to understand the goals of the Native community. I have listened to many discussions of this topic, and the points that come up first and recurrently are the following:

- They want their language and culture back.
- They want control of all aspects of education and research.
- They want autonomy. They want to do the work themselves without help from foreign experts.

The first goal may be unattainable for some groups at this point. Certainly the culture has already changed under the impact of colonialism to the degree that it would be impossible to ever return to a pre-contact life style. Also, the languages may be too far gone to become viable again in their former state. Nevertheless, most communities do not want to give up without some effort at preserving their language, helping to maintain the fluency of their speakers, and reintroducing the language to community members.

Community control over education is essential for the massive effort that is needed to bring back the language. It is very clear that occasional, sporadic teaching of the language in the public school is not going to create generations of fluent speakers of a Native language any more than it produces speakers of French or Spanish. Only if the curriculum is totally rebuilt around the issue of language and culture can progress be made within the schools. Even then, the whole community must get behind language revitalization. Fishman (1991:395) lists stage three of the process of reversing language shift as: "promotion of family, neighbourhood and community reinforcement to restore the normal pattern of intergenerational transmission." According to reports on two successful North American programs involving the Rama (Craig, 1992) and the Mohawk (Jacobs, 1998), the chief ingredient for success in these projects was the involvement of the community.

When the needs of the language program are examined, it is clear that the linguist usually cannot do anything to help address the most urgent problems.

- They cannot do the grassroots work necessary to get the community involved.
- They cannot be cultural mentors or Native role models.
- They cannot provide the motivation students need to do the work of language learning.
- They usually cannot devote full time to a projector live full-time in the community.
- They are usually not fluent enough to teach the language immersion style, which is seen as the preferred language teaching method.

In other words, linguists cannot help with the aspects of language programs that are the most crucial if revitalization is to succeed. Seen from this perspective, it is not surprising that linguists are considered to be interfering outsiders or as an extravagance that the program simply cannot afford. Any involvement of a linguist, after all, involves relinquishing control and autonomy.

However, as England (1992:33) reports, during a recent conference a Maya panelist asked the question, "Do we need foreign linguists?" and answered, "Yes, unfortunately." Reports on both the Rama (Craig 1992) and the Mohawk (Jacobs 1998) programs noted the importance of the linguist or team of linguists and the materials that they produced or helped produce as an essential element of the program. In these cases the services of the linguist were essential to the success of the program. There simply was no time to either train a Native linguist or to undertake the work necessary to provide tokens of analyzed language and the necessary reference materials to launch an all-out effort.

A negative resolution to this problem, that is, excluding linguists from the project in favor of doing the linguistic work themselves, is encouraged by some Natives on socio-political grounds. Or sometimes, in their effort to avoid linguists, communities turn to other foreign experts such as teachers or computer specialists. Since these people, even if they are native speakers, are not trained to deal with the complexities of the Native languages, the results are sometimes disastrously primitive or error-ridden, despite large budget expenditures. In the end, very little useful product is placed in the hands of the teachers or the community.

We see that the goals of the community create a paradox. On the one hand, the community wants to make the best possible effort at revitalizing the language, and this means making use of a foreign expert. But on the other hand, it wants to do so without loss of control or autonomy that bringing in a linguist would entail. The situation calls for compromise. The solution is to include linguists in the language project, at least until the language is recovered enough to rely upon native speaker linguists, but to have the linguist work as part of a language revitalization team that includes elders, teachers, and administrators. The team can work under the auspices of a language committee or language authority, which will consolidate language revitalization efforts and help win the cooperation of educational and governmental organizations.[7]

5. Getting the most out of your linguist

We have seen that for many programs, especially those dealing with languages that are spoken by a handful of elders, use of foreign linguistics experts may be unavoidable. I now turn to the question of how to make best use of the linguist. Deciding which of the functions discussed in section 2 should be given top priority is a matter for the language program committee to decide. In order to engage in in-depth research, a linguist will need:

- access to elders
- a place to work
- funding
- time
- administrative support

Access to elders is not always a straightforward matter. Illness and family needs may make the work difficult or impossible. Elders tend to have busy schedules participating in many activities for the community, including religious ceremonies, healings, cultural ceremonies, political meetings, police commissions, and educational committees. Many also function as dignitaries, making welcoming speeches, offering prayers, naming buildings, etc. Many are artisans often called upon to utilize and teach their skills. One elder commented to me that he has been working a whole lot harder since he retired. It is sometimes difficult for these busy elders to find time to work on the language. The language work is often seen as something that can be rescheduled for later, while other matters, such as working with troubled youth, young offenders, addicts, and young parents, take priority. Basically, there are too few elders to help with all the work that the community needs.

Sometimes it is very difficult to find a place to work that is comfortable for the elders and also has the right acoustic and visual properties necessary for sound and video-recording. Many communities are very thoughtless about the working conditions of their elders. Chief and council may have beautiful, new, air-conditioned chambers, while the elders work in a cold, dingy basement with stairs to climb to get to the washroom.

While it is generally agreed on the part of the bands, the academics, and the government that language maintenance is of utmost importance, language programs are often the last funded and the first cut. The resources are often limited. Lack of funding is usually the chief reason given for the failure of a program. Fortunately, most linguists can apply for academic grants that pay for expenses, honoraria for elders, and salaries for native speaker research consultants. The funds may be contingent upon academic publication of the results of the project, however, and this brings up the issue of intellectual property, which is discussed in the next section. Linguists may have access to computer and audio-visual equipment. The university professor may also bring students to participate in the research and help with the work.

Time is often a problem, since the linguist may be holding down a full-time university position or other job, often far from the community. Fortunately, most universities allow a significant amount of a professor's time to be directed toward research. Some universities allow buy-out, where a grant or funds from the community or school district can pay the university for the professor's time, allowing them to focus more time on the project. Sometimes the professor can be temporarily relocated to a college or university near the Native community. If the language program feels that a full-time non-Native linguist is essential, then sometimes a doctoral student from a linguistics department can come live and work in the community. The student can often find funding to support dissertation research. The community may help in return by providing work space, accommodations, and a small salary. This was a common pattern in the seventies and eighties, though now many Native communities prefer to spend salary dollars on native speaker linguists or on young community members training in the language. The ideal situation, of course, is when a native speaker or at least a community member is willing to train as a linguist and can take linguistics courses at a nearby university. In this case, the foreign linguist and native speaker linguist should be given an opportunity to work side-by-side, at least for a transition period.

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[7] See England (1998) for a discussion of the Mayan language Academy.

Community administrators can do much to assure that the linguist's time is used well by providing the administrative support fora project, including helping to schedule elders' meetings, booking space, administering funds, keeping the linguist informed of community decisions, and helping to coordinate the work of language project team members. They should think carefully about involving the linguist in administrative meetings. Sometimes it is very effective to invite the linguist to part of a meeting so that issues surrounding the language project can be addressed with all parties present. In some projects I have been involved in, I feel that my questions and viewpoint never got passed onto the decision-makers. Often I was left out of the loop, finding out decisions by hearsay. I would be desperately seeking funding to complete a project while some administrator would be sitting on funds that could have been directed to that purpose. In another project, it seemed that endless meetings were being held, when a phone call or a memo would have sufficed. In fact, the meetings, which often did not involve a single native speaker of the language, took over as the main reason for the project's existence. What linguists have to keep in mind is that many participants at the meetings are paid to be there and they feel it is their obligation to work through every detail of the program. But what communities have to realize is that when the meeting is over, the language team still has to do the work. In fact, every hour of meetings means one less hour interviewing the elders or writing materials.[8] The right administrative equilibrium must be reached so that the project team can work diligently and make progress without burning out. I have had the joy of working on some excellent projects, and in each case an administrative genius was quietly working behind the scenes to enable us all to do our best. On the other hand, one project I worked on was totally undermined by heavy-handed, disrespectful administration.[9]

In summary, if communities want to take control of their language revitalization projects, they should make sure linguists are used effectively. They should provide linguists with opportunities to work as much as possible on the language in order to become competent enough at it to be of real use to the community. A little attention to the needs of the linguists can make their work easier, producing quicker and better results.

6. The Intellectual Property Issue

There are many issues that divide Natives and linguists. But the ones that most directly and seriously affect linguists center around intellectual property. This is the issue that most often causes the work to get completely derailed. Here are a couple of imaginary exchanges between an administrator for a Native language program and a linguist to show you how bad it can get. The first exchange illustrates a stand off on the issue of data. The second illustrates the thorny issue of dissemination of results.

The data debate

The band administrator: They come, they get the data, and they leave. Where are they? Where is our data? The white man has robbed us of our masks, he has burned our longhouses, and he has almost killed our language through systematic policies such as removing children from the home and placing them in residential schools. We are not going to sit back and let you steal our language from us. We want our data back. We want it now. We'll go to court if necessary to get it. We need these data to make materials to help educate our children in the language.

The linguist: I have spent all my holidays and sabbaticals doing fieldwork on the language. The data are mine. I collected them. I transcribed them. I paid for the elders' time. I have a commitment to the speakers who taught me, but not to the political unit of the band. I have accumulated enough data for a grammar and a dictionary. I'm in the process of analyzing these data and writing reference works, which I'll probably be able to complete when I retire. You will get the data back then. I've given back data before and the band never even thanked me. They complained that they couldn't use it because people don't speak like that today or it was in an orthography they couldn't read. They used it in strange ways, dumbing it down, making mistakes in transliterating it into practical orthographies. They never credited my participation. Go ahead and let them sue. I'd rather burn the data than let them have it.

The dissemination issue

The band administrator: We have the legal right to totally control who sees and hears our language and, frankly, we don't want anybody outside our group to see it. Furthermore, the words of the elders have monetary value, but only if we don't let anyone see them. You are producing work that is totally useless to us because we cannot understand it or use it for educational purposes. You are making a lot of money off our language. We are disappointed in you and would rather bring in someone else that we can have better control over, even if they know nothing about our language. Or we will just do the work ourselves. It is more important for us to have the last say on this issue than to have the language worked on.

The linguist: I donate my time and energy to working on your language. I could be working on a language with millions of speakers and without the constant hassles. I have to publish to get and keep a job and to advance to a decent salary level. The linguistic community already places little value on field linguistics. I have a second-rate job compared to theoretical linguists, many of whom have never done primary research on a language. My academic colleagues are able to publish without interference and they spend their time sitting and writing while I am out travelling, doing field research, attending protocol meetings, and trying to make myself useful to your language revitalization program. I will miss publishing opportunities if I can't work quickly. My publication record serves as the basis for the grants I apply for. These provide the funds I use to pay your elders for their time. Funds are increasingly competitive and constantly getting cut back. I have to make each cent and each minute count. I cannot afford long delays or large meetings for you to approve my work. The educational materials that I produce for your program are not considered scholarly product and I am not given academic credit for them. The university administrators are disappointed with the amount of service time I am spending away from campus and think I am taking altruism too far, to the detriment of my teaching, my career, and my health.

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[8] It also usually means that one other hour of work associated with the linguist's university job has been postponed onto the evening or weekend.

[9] Ironically, the administrator was probably doing her best to make sure the money was spent effectively, but the rancor she created caused me and the elders to quit the project and finish the work through other avenues.

What these exchanges show is a tremendous gap in understanding between the band administrator and the linguist. You may think I am exaggerating, but ask any linguist that has worked on a Northwest Coast language for more than two years and they can come up with horror stories of abusive, obstructionist behavior on the part of some band administrator. These include litigation to try to get data returned or to try to keep data from being published, for example in the form of a doctoral dissertation, and blocking access to speakers by instituting permit systems with lengthy screening processes.[10]

The intellectual property issue is crucial whether the linguist is employed by the Native community or bringing in his/her own funds. If the linguist's intent is to use some of the data collected from community elders in academic publications, then permission from the community is necessary, regardless of the source of funding. This can be given in a research agreement laying out certain conditions or it can be given one publication at a time, sometimes under the scrutiny of a language committee. The first approach is most convenient for the linguist and is in fact sometimes required by the linguist's university or the granting agency. It is especially suitable if the community has confidence in the linguist's abilities in the language. In addition, language committees usually have more pressing matters to attend to. Sometimes the community may like to have some control of the cultural content and data in a paper, even if they have little interest in the analysis.

Sadly, some Native communities have tried to block the publication of a linguist's research. Sometimes trouble arises because there is confusion over how much of the work results from employment with the band and how much results from the donated time of the investigator.[11] Why would a community try to block publication? One reason might be that Natives misunderstand the finances of scholarly publishing. They may think that some financial advantage may accrue from the publication. One way to address this issue is to make sure that all royalties are turned over to the Native language committee. Also, they may feel that letting the data be published means they lose control of it. Fortunately, most publishers, universities, and education ministries have come to understand the importance of ownership of data and allow the copyright to be held by the Native community. Finally, Natives do not want outsiders to see the data. As Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:91) note: "There is a real and legitimate fear of traditional ethnic materials being appropriated, exploited, trivialized, or desecrated by outsiders. . ." However, they point out that ownership is just half of the equation. The other half is stewardship. In my experience, the elders that speak the language are eager for it to be written down, recorded, distributed, learned, and used. The people most concerned with dissemination are what Kirkness (1998:9) calls the sandwich generation—the adult non-speakers that make up the band councils, school staff, and work force in the communities. Sometimes extreme feelings of anger, loss, and bitterness underlie their opinions on dissemination. No person that is not a member of a group whose language and culture have been supplanted by colonialization can begin to understand the depth of these feelings. Nevertheless, rather than equating language with items of material culture that have been taken away by collectors and researchers, I find the advice of Hukari and Peter (1995:ii) more relevant: "A language is like a muscle; it must be used regularly if it is to stay healthy." Getting written and audio-visual material into the hands of whoever is interested in the language is one way to exercise this muscle. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:92) put it succinctly: "We appreciate the fear of desecration, but we believe that the risks of sharing information are less dangerous at the present time than the risk that it may otherwise be lost forever."

Given the mistrustful and disrespectful attitude of band administrators and the proprietary, self-serving attitude of linguists, it is not surprising that the exchange can deteriorate to an unpleasant stand-off. The situation is reminiscent of a divorce where the parents are sniping at each other to the detriment of the children. In this case it is the language program that suffers while the parties nurse bruised egos or start hiring lawyers. The question is how to lay aside mistrust and anger and reach some compromise position for the good of the language program.

Here is how the first exchange above regarding the return of data to the community could progress if the parties show some mutual understanding and respect.

The band: We are undertaking a project concerning X and would greatly appreciate your participation. In particular, we need data of type Y and hope you will come and bring us data of this type, discuss these data with our elders group, and give a lecture about the data to our curriculum developers. We'll show you how we intend to use the data. And later, if you are available, we will let you review our product before it is produced. When can you get the data ready and come visit us?

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[10] One summer, I waited six weeks for a research permit, receiving it just a few days before I had to return home.

[11] I know of one instance where a band took a linguist to court in Canada. The ruling was in favor of the linguist being allowed to publish.

The linguist: That sounds like a very worthwhile project and I appreciate your including me in it. I will try to have the data organized in a month. I look forward to meeting with your elders and your curriculum developers.

Here's how a compromise can be reached concerning dissemination of results.

The band: We are glad to enter into an agreement with you to allow you and your students to do research on our language. Here are our conditions: we want copies of all field notes and audio-visual materials deposited with our band archives, we would like two copies of any work you publish, and we would like you to keep us appraised of all funding that you apply for and receive to do your research. Our education officer can assist you in making appointments with the elders.

The linguist: Those are excellent conditions. In addition, I will make proper acknowledgments to your elders and others for assistance in this research, and I will always check with your education officer for guidance on what an appropriate honorarium and method of payment is for each elder I work with. Also, I will make myself available to your curriculum development team to assist in anyway I can. Whenever possible, I will try to employ and train members of your community to help with the projects. Feel free to use my name and credentials in your efforts to secure funds for the project.

7. Conclusion

Dixon (1997) and others have called for linguists to drop everything and concentrate on fieldwork on endangered languages before it is too late. Young scholars should be warned, however, that, while endangered language research may seem like noble and interesting work, they will be faced with a hornet's nest of socio-political issues. The languages most in need of archiving are probably also the ones where the political situation is least hospitable. The good-old-days of popping in, doing some fieldwork, doing the analysis, going home, and publishing are gone forever. Communities, if they open their door to linguists, expect them to work toward their language revitalization plan. As Grinevald (1998:151) notes, linguists who continue to function on an individualistic basis with the chief purpose of furthering their own careers are not welcome.

The linguist will be expected to work as part of a language revitalization team and will be given a variety of jobs to do, including writing reference materials, preparing curriculum materials, helping with teacher training, and even teaching the language. Many of these jobs may not come easy to linguists, especially if their training has focused on theoretical linguistics. The community will want audio-visual and computer materials to support their language project. This will be a new area for most linguists. Furthermore, the academic world is slow to give credit or recognition for this kind of applied work, especially since it does not lead to a profit. This puts the field linguist at risk in an already difficult job market.

A linguist working on an endangered language must submit to the authority of the community administrators. At every turn, the linguist will have to compromise long-range scholarly goals to meet the community's immediate needs. Although revitalizing the language is always mentioned as a top goal of the community, it is often the last program funded and the first dropped. Many more urgent social problems take precedent. In fact, sometimes it seems that the language program is uninteresting or even annoying to administrators, who are unlikely to be speakers themselves. The language team usually has to secure its own funding. It will have to work diligently to make progress on quality reference and educational materials with accompanying audio-visual and computer support material. At the same time it should produce small, quick products, keep elders meeting and speaking to each other, help train teachers, teach the language to adults and children, and help the community with legal research. For some linguists, this work will be in addition to a full-time university position.

Once linguists accept the principle that the Natives themselves must control the language research, a paradox is created. What if the community decides that it would rather let the language die than have foreign experts work on it?[12] The linguists are then put in an awkward situation: should they submit to the political will of the community or should they take direction from the native-speaking elders, who entrusted them to help in the stewardship of the language to younger generations?

Finally, research on endangered languages entails serious emotional issues of loss that the linguist will have to deal with. It is difficult for everyone when a elder and mentor passes on. Moreover, despite their best efforts, many linguists will live to see the last speaker of a language die. Dauenhauer and Dauenhauer (1998:78) frame the problem nicely. They say: "The paradoxical situation is that the languages will certainly die unless we do something; but, the reality is that they may also die even if we do something. Therefore, what do we do?" My personal choice has been to get out there and get busy and face the consequences. The positive aspects of working with the elders on their language have, over all, greatly outweighed the negative aspects. I hope other linguists will make this choice too, and that the field of linguistics, the universities, and the communities will make an effort to help the scholars that make this choice.

Acknowledgments

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[12] See Dorian (1993) and references therein for a discussion of the issue of the need for community control versus the importance of salvaging the language.

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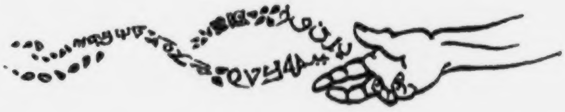

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Successful Interactions

Developing Language Programs with the Naskapi of Quebec

Bill Jancewicz
Summer Institute of Linguistics - Naskapi Development Corporation
23 Kawawa Road, P.O. Box 5023, Kawawachikamach Quebec G0G 2Z0 Canada
[bill_jancewicz@sil.org]

Abstract

This presentation is a case study, describing the efforts and strategies employed by field linguists and other specialists towards the development and maintenance of the Naskapi language.

A brief history of the Naskapi of Quebec will be traced through three distinct stages of language development, focusing on their language use and their relationships to speakers of Canada's majority languages:

Post Contact, c1840 to 1956

Socio-Economic Adaptation, 1956 to c1977

Pro-Active Language Development, 1977 to present

The post-contact years were characterized by occasional but significant contact with Europeans through the fur trading posts established in Naskapi territory.

The years of socio-economic adaptation to Euro-Canadian culture began with the Naskapi relocation into proximity with semi-urban non-native society.

Finally, the years of pro-active language development have been marked by a fundamental change in the community, which provided the potential of autonomy in terms of education, employment and culture.

It will be shown that as more Naskapi speakers are trained and involved in developing their own language resources, the community may be becoming equipped to protect itself in the midst of the very forces that would threaten to endanger the maintenance and viability of their language. The non-Naskapi specialist's role is in transition, becoming increasingly that of the facilitator: training and enabling the mother-tongue specialist.

Introduction

The Naskapi language is unique among the Algonquian languages of Quebec, mostly because of the relatively late date of regular contact between the Naskapi and non-natives, their previous nomadic way of life, and the fact that locally Naskapi speakers outnumber speakers of Canada's official languages.

Who the Naskapi are is in a way intimately connected with what they are called, indeed what they have come to call themselves. However, the name "Naskapi" did not always refer to a single people group nor specifically the language of the people currently residing at Kawawachikamach in Quebec. Mailhot (1986) reports that the term "Naskapi" first appears in written form in 1643 as "Ounachkapiouek" referring to a group somewhere inland of Tadoussac, Quebec. Mailhot describes the various locations that people called by this name were supposed to have lived, as reported through the last three centuries.

David Pentland (1982; cited in Mailhot, 1986) analyzed this first occurrence of the word (here spelled phonologically) *unaaskaahpiiwek* and determined that it meant (to the Saguenay Indians who used the term) "people from the place where something disappears", or "people from the place where it is no longer visible". This probably refers to the visible horizon, and the phenomenon of perspective: that objects appear smaller and smaller the farther away they are, until they finally disappear from view altogether. Evidently then, at least to the people who used the word, that the group thus referred to lived beyond the area where people are known and named.

In time, "people beyond the horizon" came to mean "unfamiliar people". Even though the word was sometimes used to name a specific group of Indians on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula, the one using the term could have (and often did) intended **whomever** he considered to be "more primitive", not necessarily some group previously so named. Further, in some cases the term was not even used to identify a *particular* group: simply a category of Indians "less civilized" than other Indians.

"Montagnais" on the other hand was a term used by Champlain for the people he encountered at the mouth of the Saguenay River in the 1600s. Armitage (1991) notes that by the early 19th century, Europeans were using this term to refer to those Indians that they considered "more civilized" than others. So the popular usage of the two terms "Montagnais" and "Naskapi" tended to classify Indian groups according to a European standard of "civilization" or acculturation.

Thus as the modern term "Naskapi" came to apply to people not yet influenced by European culture, eventually it referred specifically to certain Indians of the Quebec-Labrador peninsula: The Naskapi of today are direct descendants of the former nomadic caribou hunters of the Ungava tundra region, and who now comprise the *Naskapi Band of Quebec* near Schefferville. Although they are sometimes considered a part of the larger *Innu* grouping (until very recently referred to as *Montagnais-Naskapi* by linguists and anthropologists) the Naskapi themselves insist that they are a unique people-group. Indeed, it can be shown both linguistically and ethnographically that the Naskapi are distinct from their neighbors. While they do share certain cultural and linguistic similarities with the Labrador Innu, Quebec Montagnais, and the Eastern Cree; they also have a unique history and certain linguistic distinctives which set them apart from the rest of the aboriginal population on the Quebec-Labrador peninsula.

Given the basic early meaning of the word and their relatively late date of sustained contact with Europeans, today's Naskapi received the name by default: they could not use it to refer to anyone else. Although the usage of the word *Naskapi* in the following historical section specifically refers to the ancestors of the current Naskapi Band of Quebec, they themselves did not begin to call themselves by that name until the 1970s. For the Naskapi, the word no longer carries the pejorative sense that it did formerly.

Post Contact
1840-1956

Historical Perspective

Alan Cooke's draft of *A History of the Naskapis of Schefferville* (1976) contains details of the historical background of the group currently living at Kawawachikamach. Essentially it is the account of the Hudson Bay Company's attempt to persuade the nomadic caribou hunters of the northern interior of Quebec-Labrador to become dependent upon the various posts set up by the company beginning around 1820, to the end that those Indians would hunt for furs for them.

> When the fur trading posts were first established by the French and English, there was fierce competition to attract Indians to particular posts. Attempts were made to oblige trappers to return to the same post all the time, but the post manager's accounts from that period demonstrate the difficulty of establishing this kind of loyalty.
>
> MacKenzie (1980)

During the period of Fort Chimo's (now Kuujjuaq) first occupation, from 1830 to 1843, the relationship between the Naskapi and the Hudson Bay Company was not a cordial one. In the beginning, the traders were mostly unsuccessful at getting the Naskapi to do what they wanted, (that is, hunt for furs and trade) complaining that the Naskapi were "suspicious, thieving, independent and proud". These epithets reveal more of the traders' manipulative commercial dealings with the Indians than the relative indifference and non-cooperation of the Naskapi. But the traders were not new at this; they had succeeded in the past with other Indians, and were determined to succeed with the Naskapi.

> The debt system, whereby Indians were advanced food and equipment in the fall and the cost of these was deducted from the value of the furs at the end of the winter, was the main strategy used by the traders to keep trappers attached to their own post.
>
> MacKenzie (1980)

"Attaching" native peoples to a particular trading post was, for the traders, standard business practice. It was hoped that the native people would become dependent upon the post for goods, and thus feel compelled to bring their furs to that post. For the native people however, being attached to a post meant a serious change in lifestyle. Once thus attached, the native peoples' freedom to move about when they wished was diminished. This diminishing freedom was, for the nomadic caribou hunters, not simply an inconvenience—for some it would mean disaster.

At first the Naskapi just were not interested in the fur trade; they simply preferred to follow and hunt the caribou as was their custom. This was frustrating to the traders, which in turn prompted the traders to increase their efforts. Eventually then, the traders had accomplished to some extent what they desired, and the Naskapi were beginning to develop a growing dependence upon the manufactured tools and foods available at the post. Further, they were becoming more and more dependent upon guns and ammunition for hunting caribou. So, when the Company closed Fort Chimo to open Fort Nascopie some 250 miles inland (15 miles or so southeast of present day Schefferville), the Naskapi had no choice but to move inland and center their trade activities there in order to provide for their families.

But after having been attached to Fort Nascopie for about twenty-five years, the company decided to reopen Fort Chimo and close Fort Nascopie around 1870: it was too difficult for them to supply, being located so far inland.

Fort McKenzie, located about half way between Fort Chimo and old Fort Nascopie, was opened in 1916. The Naskapi were subsequently attached to this post as well, and some were even employed by the post as clerks and freighters, helping to supply the post from Fort Chimo for the next 30 years or so. It was probably around this period that the *Mushuau Innu*, 'barren-ground people', began to separate from the Fort Chimo group and frequent the Labrador coast, eventually becoming dependent upon Company Posts located there, especially at *Utshimassits* 'store-clerk's place' (Davis Inlet). It must be remembered that prior to the 1950s the way of life of the Naskapi was still largely nomadic. Becoming attached to a post did not imply long-term settlement in one location, merely a tendency to trade seasonally at the same post.

Language Development

Although evidence is scanty, it is likely that about the time of the opening of Fort McKenzie that the Naskapi were introduced to vernacular reading and writing. Until the Naskapi were settled at Schefferville they actively pursued their nomadic way of life, following the caribou herds across the north of Quebec from Hudson Bay in the west to the Labrador coast in the east. Whenever they congregated at the various Hudson's Bay Company posts it was only temporary. At the extremes of their territory, they met and married with Cree people in the west and with Innu or Montagnais in the south and east.

It is probable that through the contact with the Cree toward the west that the Naskapi learned to read and write and acquired their first books. The Naskapi syllabic writing system is clearly a derivation of the system in use by the Cree in the communities on the east coast of Hudson and James Bays. Further, it had been the custom of Church of England (Anglican) clergy to accompany the traders at the Hudson's Bay posts; Through the labours of these clergy, the Naskapi knowledge of reading and writing increased by using the Cree Bibles, prayer books and hymnals in teaching and religious services.

Although the vocabulary and pronunciation of the Naskapi language reflects the variety of their contacts, their language still retains a core vocabulary not found in other related languages or neighbouring dialects, such as those of the Uashat (Sept-Îles) Montagnais, Whapmagoostui (Great Whale River) Cree, or Utshimassits (Davis Inlet) Mushuau Innu.

Even though at this stage the Naskapi themselves were not publishing their own Naskapi language resource material, they by no means took a passive role in language development. Naskapi individuals who remember this period report that many persons learned to read and write well in a remarkably short period of time, being tutored by an elder family member, often using a prayer book or hymn book as a text. Outside of corporate and individual worship, vernacular literacy took on a utilitarian role as lists and memos, letters and journals were produced by hand in Naskapi syllabics by numerous Naskapi. Letter writing is a reliable way to communicate clearly and personally over the great distances they were accustomed to travel. One could compose a letter and entrust it to a friend or family member who was on his way to or from hunting, or with someone employed transporting supplies for the Hudson Bay trading company.

Among those Naskapi who worked for the Hudson Bay company, there were a few who learned to speak English. These became the spokespersons for the others in the community who needed to interact with the traders. This became a pattern of the way that a Naskapi person would gain social prestige and build relationships with those that controlled the economy. Invariably, Naskapi persons who were known for their good ability in Naskapi reading and writing, the "language specialists" of their day, were also the ones with the best communication skills in English.

After Fort McKenzie closed in 1948, the Naskapi returned again to Fort Chimo, some taking jobs at the air base there but many of them by this time living off relief efforts by the federal government. In the 1950's, there were several successful seasonal hunting trips for furs organized in the vicinity of old Fort McKenzie, as well as a growing sense of responsibility for the Naskapi's welfare on the part of the government. Growing out of this sense of responsibility, Indian Affairs Branch government representatives began discussing the idea of relocation to the south; either to Schefferville, the newly opened mining town of the Iron Ore Company, or to Sept-Îles.

The Naskapi were eventually promised medical care, schooling and housing if they would move to Schefferville. To this day it is not exactly clear who made these promises: nor why, in June of 1956, the Naskapi of Fort Chimo began their journey overland and up-river to Schefferville. But by summer's end in 1956 they had all relocated to Schefferville.

Socio-Economic Adaptation
1956-1977

Historical Perspective

Even though it seemed that the officials of the Indian Affairs Branch were aware of the Naskapi intention to move to Schefferville, a very poor reception awaited them there. Neither the town of Schefferville nor the Iron Ore Company had been informed of their coming, and consequently both were completely unprepared for the arrival of the Naskapi.

Cooke's narrative leaves off at this point, and although there has been no official history of the Naskapi from their arrival in Schefferville to the present, there is enough information from various sources to continue the story. (See Robbins (1969), Hammond (1976), Peat Marwick & Associates (1979), and especially Wilkinson, *A Parcel of Fools* (1989) for more details on this period.) The following material has been condensed from those sources and personal interviews.

After initially erecting shacks and tents for themselves in the vicinity of the Schefferville airport, the following year (1957) the municipal authorities urged the Naskapi to move to John Lake, about two miles northeast of Schefferville. There they shared a small parcel of land between the road and the lake with some Montagnais who had moved up from Sept-Îles after the completion of the railroad in 1954.

While the Naskapi depended upon their Montagnais neighbors for administrative support and advice, the latter having had more than three centuries of regular and intensive contact with Europeans, the relationship between the two groups was often strained and sometimes difficult. Part of this difficulty could have been due to a different philosophy of land and resource use: the Naskapi having been more recently nomadic tended to use the resources of the land wherever they found them. But the Montagnais who were non-nomadic generally believed in restricting land use and hunting areas to specific family groups.

In 1969, the Department of Indian and Northern Affairs acquired a 39-acre parcel of land on the north side of Schefferville adjacent to Pearce Lake. By 1972, 106 row-housing units had been built there, 43 of them for the Naskapi. Most of the Naskapi and Montagnais moved to this site, called the Matimekosh Reserve, but a few families chose to remain at John Lake and are still there.

Although the move to Matimekosh improved living conditions somewhat, things were far from ideal due to the increased exposure to the non-native community in Schefferville and the constant tensions with the Montagnais. It was only in 1971 that the Fort Chimo Indians (as they were then more commonly known) became an official Indian Band under the Indian Act by a federal order-in-council. This created the *Naskapi Band of Quebec*, the band-council style of municipal self-government that remains in effect to this day.

Language Development

By the mid 1960s, Naskapi children began to attend Knob Lake School in Schefferville, and their first formal education in English began at that point. Initially, the Naskapi children did rather well in school, but for unknown reasons that good performance was not maintained.

While a good number of Naskapi men were able to find employment at the Iron Ore Mine, only a few held their jobs for more than a few months at a time. The reasons for the relatively high unemployment and rapid turnover are many, but a primary reason is likely that the Naskapi had very little knowledge of English or French. Even the first Anglican priest sent to them at Schefferville, Rev. Gavin White, was chosen because he had some ability in Inuktitut, a language many Naskapi also had learned during their time at Fort Chimo through their contacts with the Inuit. Even though more than forty years have passed since the time among the Inuit, several Naskapi elders still retain a working knowledge of Inuktitut.

However there were a few Naskapi men who were able to work and hold their positions for many years in the Iron Ore Company, and even found employment in other fields in the Schefferville area. Once again, these individuals are also those who had been and are still today strongest in their ability in reading and writing Naskapi. It may be inferred that their confidence and ability in reading and writing their mother tongue prepared them for the transition into a different language of work and commerce.

Since being settled at Schefferville, the Naskapi have maintained the use of their own language for all domestic interactions, in spite of an increasing level of contact with Montagnais and with Canada's official languages, English and French. Still, while the Naskapi language remained a language of the home and church, as yet there did not exist any formalized Naskapi language resource material in the school or workplace. The Naskapi language situation was similar in this respect to the other aboriginal languages in Quebec. However, leadership in these communities had begun to take action that would remedy the situation (MacKenzie:1992).

Pro-Active Language Development 1977-Present

Historical Perspective

1975 was a watershed year in the life of the Naskapi, when they decided to become involved in the *James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement*. They entered into a contract with the Northern Quebec Inuit Association, which was intended to provide the Naskapi with logistical support and legal advice for the negotiations of the agreement.

It would be helpful at this point to provide some background information regarding this Agreement: Early in the 1970's, the Government of Quebec announced its intention to harness the hydroelectric potential of certain river basins in northern Quebec. At that time, the Government had not consulted with the native people who occupied the affected areas, nor did their original plans contain any measures to relieve the impacts on the land or the people. In 1972, the Cree and the Inuit launched legal proceedings to halt the James Bay Project on the grounds that the Government had not fulfilled an earlier commitment to settle their land claims. By 1974, the Cree and Inuit had been granted an injunction halting construction of the James Bay Project.

Although the Naskapi had entered into these negotiations during 1975, ultimately the Agreement was signed without the Naskapi because it was realized that the demands on the Northern Quebec Inuit Association were too great to represent both their interests and the interests of the Naskapi as well. Therefore, the Naskapi retained their own legal council and anthropological advisor, and in January of 1976 began negotiations of their own land claims in earnest.

In January of 1978, the *Northeastern Quebec Agreement* was signed between the Naskapi and the signatories of the James Bay and Northern Quebec Agreement. In general, this agreement granted to the Naskapi benefits comparable to those that the Cree and Inuit received under their agreement. The Northeastern Quebec Agreement is very simply an exchange of rights: The Naskapi surrendered all their claims to land in Quebec in exchange for exclusive rights to *certain* lands and specific social and economic development services to be provided to the Naskapi by the provincial and federal governments.

Of the many things the Northeastern Quebec Agreement provided, one of the most important was in Section 20, which granted the Naskapi the opportunity to relocate their community to a location and design of their choice. Following technical and socio-economic studies of the various sites available, in January 1980 the Naskapi population voted almost unanimously to relocate to Block Matemace, a peninsula between lakes Peter and Matemace about 5 miles northeast of the town of Schefferville. The site had been used in the past by the Naskapi as a hunting and fishing campsite, and thus was well known to many of them. The Naskapi chose the name *Kawawachikamach*, which means appropriately "by a winding lake", as the name for their new community. Although construction continues today as the Naskapi population expands, the village was substantially complete and occupied by the end of 1984.

Granting that the reason for Schefferville's existence was the production of iron ore, any reduction of mining operations would understandably have a drastic effect on the local economy. When steel production slowed dramatically worldwide in the late 1970s, the demand for the Schefferville's natural ore virtually disappeared. Consequently, in January of 1981, a one-third reduction of the Iron Ore Company's work force in Schefferville was announced. Another year saw economic conditions deteriorate further and the Schefferville mining operation was closed down completely in October of 1982.

With the closure of the mine, employment opportunities for the Naskapi diminished. Unlike the non-native mine employees they could not simply relocate: With the construction of Kawawachikamach they had become permanent residents of the Schefferville region. The Naskapi however initiated several studies with a view to providing a firm basis for a lasting and satisfying economy for Kawawachikamach and the region of Schefferville. Both the Naskapi Development Corporation and the Naskapi Band Council have participated in number of job creation proposals. Some of these have been implemented and are designed to move the community toward economic independence. Further, a revival of Naskapi interest in their native identity and heritage, coupled with a growing desire to supplement their income with resources from the land, has resulted in a moderate increase in subsistence hunting and fishing and the passing on of "bush technology" to the younger Naskapi generation.

Language Development

Language specialists first became involved in the community in a significant way with The Project for the Amerindianization of the Schools in the 1970s (MacKenzie:1992). The implementation of this project brought linguists into a number of Quebec aboriginal communities for the purpose of training speakers in language teaching and linguistics. An important by-product of this project was the production of pedagogical grammars and lexicons, which assisted in the standardization of the orthographies and an increased awareness of the need for local aboriginal control of education. Although three Naskapi teachers participated in the project, the benefit to Naskapi education has been limited.

In general terms, the Naskapi Band Office, with its Chief and Council form of government, is responsible for the physical needs of the municipality of Kawawachikamach and the more than 600 Naskapi who live there. While this usually includes public utilities, construction and repair of the infrastructure, and security, it also carries some responsibility that directly relates to language use, like some translation work and the sponsorship of the Naskapi Newspaper. Since the establishment of the Naskapi Band office, a policy of translating all administrative and government documents into Naskapi has been implemented. This policy has led to the maintenance of full time Naskapi language professionals on the Band payroll.

The Naskapi Development Corporation has a different mandate than the Band Council. A bill passed by the Quebec National Assembly in 1979 to receive the one-time compensation paid under the Northeastern Quebec Agreement formed the Development Corporation. It is an association incorporated not for the purpose of making a profit for its individual members, but for the mutual benefit of all Naskapis. The Corporation's mandate includes encouraging education, improving living conditions, and to encourage and assist in preserving the Naskapi way of life, Naskapi values and traditions. A president and board of directors elected from the Naskapi population govern the Corporation. The study of the Naskapi language and encouraging and promoting its use is one of the primary objectives of the Corporation, along with its historical and cultural mandate.

The material and financial resources that are currently controlled by the Naskapi themselves, in the form of the Band and the Development Corporation, finally make the active promotion of the Naskapi language and the production of Naskapi language materials a possibility in the community. Early on, the need to address the issue of language endangerment was recognized by the Naskapi leadership in these two organizations, and steps were taken to acquire and retain the assistance of language specialists to facilitate in the production of Naskapi language materials.

In other language communities in Northern Quebec situations have been very different, and similar strategies have produced varying results. The Amerindianization of the Schools project was able to produce an effective, self-determining native language educational system among the Cree, largely because of an adequate number of trained Cree language professionals working in the educational system.

But for the Naskapi, only a few teachers were trained by the project, with only one Naskapi actually teaching the language on a long-term basis. During a period of almost two decades, there was little if any progress by the educational system in increasing the use of Naskapi as the language of instruction nor of Naskapi literacy. It is felt that the Naskapi school lacked the "critical mass" of trained and motivated Naskapi language teachers, as well as lacking the administrative vision and will to maintain the Naskapi language in education.

However, in the administrative structures of the community outside of education, especially the Band and Development Corporation, this vision and will did exist, which resulted in the development of the following key Naskapi language resources:

Naskapi Lexicon In conjunction with the Amerindianization project, Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie, a linguist associated with Memorial University of Newfoundland (St. John's) began making regular visits to the community for teacher training. At that time it was decided to also collect words for the Naskapi lexicon as a parallel project with the Cree lexicon. Around 1979, the Naskapi Band of Quebec began to collect word lists that had been produced by Agnes McKenzie, the Naskapi language teacher at Knob Lake School. By 1980, the Naskapi Band asked Dr. MacKenzie to supervise the project, and two Naskapi men were hired to collect and write down words. The Naskapi Development Corporation agreed to take over the sponsorship of the project in the early 1980s, and linguists associated with the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) provided valuable continuity and on-site assistance to the project.

After years of compiling, sorting and checking, and by enlisting the assistance of numerous other specialists for technical roles, the Naskapi Lexicon word list was computerized, revised, formatted and published by the Naskapi Development Corporation in 1994. A three volume set, in Naskapi, English and French, it is positioned to become the standard reference for orthography and spelling in the Naskapi community. Like other Amerindian languages, the community depends on the lexicon as a resource to aid in standardization of the orthography. In most cases, standardization is an ongoing process, taking twenty years or more as knowledge of grammar becomes more refined. For Naskapi, this work continues as these volumes are revised and expanded.

Naskapi Legends In 1967-68, M. Serge Melançon came to Schefferville as part of a project to record on audio tape Quebec aboriginal legends and stories. These tapes, owned by the Laboratoire d'anthropologie amerindienne were made available to the Naskapi community in 1994 for transcription and translation. Under the direction of linguists Bill Jancewicz and Marguerite MacKenzie, the tapes have been transcribed and keyboarded in Naskapi by trained Naskapi personnel, and are currently being translated and analyzed with a view to eventual publication in Naskapi, English and French. Some of these stories have already been utilized in the Naskapi Curriculum Development Project.

Naskapi Syllabics Word Processing In 1988, Bill Jancewicz arrived in the community as a field worker with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The Naskapi Band office had recently acquired its first personal computer, and Jancewicz was asked to develop a system for keyboarding the Naskapi syllabic script. Up until this time, all Naskapi language material had been painstakingly copied by hand. If any material were to be published, this hand copied material had to be edited and typeset by outside specialists, often with little knowledge of the Naskapi language. Consequently, errors were invariably introduced to the text, along with a failure to use the local orthography. Although the Naskapi orthography is similar to the nearest related dialect, East Cree, there is enough of a local difference that a custom font and keyboarding system had to be developed in order for it to be acceptable to the Naskapi. Once this was accomplished, by 1989, Jancewicz had trained three Naskapi persons in the use of this system and for the first time material could be produced, edited and reproduced on a local level.

Since that time, the system has been upgraded and improved, and reprogrammed to work across platforms and operating systems. Over 20 PC's and 10 Macintosh computers are currently in use by Naskapi persons in the community, many of whom have been trained to successfully keyboard and format Naskapi literature. The current Naskapi font and keyboarding system is easy to use, integrates seamlessly into popular word processing systems, and is recognized as one of the key factors in the equipping of Naskapi persons to develop their own language materials.

By providing this kind of technical support for the local orthography, the specialist helped to raise the standard of quality for printed Naskapi, enable a much larger quantity of material to be produced, and to increase the perceived value of the language among speakers.

Naskapi Tipachimoon Newspaper During the 1970s, when the negotiations for the Northeastern Quebec Agreement were underway, Dr. MacKenzie encouraged the Naskapi Band to produce a Naskapi language newsletter, in order to keep the community informed of the progress of the negotiations. Since that time, the Band has had varying degrees of success maintaining a monthly publication goal for this newspaper. The Development Corporation's linguist has been asked to provide technical assistance and training to the Band's personnel involved in this project over the years, and plans are underway for a desktop publishing course for the Naskapi editors of this publication. It is hoped that with renewed commitment from the sponsoring organizations, that the Naskapi Newspaper may become an important means of language maintenance and Naskapi journalism.

Naskapi Bible Translation In 1978, Lana Martens and Carol Chase arrived in the community as field workers with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. They had been invited to work in partnership with the Naskapi church to help provide the Bible and other materials in the Naskapi language. They were also involved in the other language development projects underway at that time, and were invited to assist with the Naskapi Band and Development Corporation's language projects, including the Naskapi lexicon and a grammar sketch. Circumstances prevented their continued on-site work after 1983.

By 1988, Bill and Norma Jean Jancewicz had arrived in the community with their family to continue where Martens and Chase left off. After three years of language study and residence in the Naskapi community, work on translation and literature production recommenced. A funding grant was received to produce a series of excerpts from the Gospels on the life of Christ. A Naskapi co-translator, Mr. George Guanish, was hired and trained in both translation principles and Naskapi syllabics keyboarding and editing. The Canadian Bible Society published the first installment of these booklets in 1995. After this project, the Naskapi co-translator has continued to develop his skills as a Naskapi mother-tongue language specialist.

The Naskapi Band employs Guanish full-time as an administrative translator and he also serves on the Naskapi Curriculum Development committee and the Naskapi Education Committee. He has taken mother tongue translator courses provided by SIL both on site in the community and in Phoenix, Arizona.

Recently, funding has also been secured to hire and train two additional Naskapi co-translators, both of whom are employed full time translating the Bible and other culturally and educationally relevant materials into Naskapi. Each of these persons is being equipped to confidently produce quality Naskapi language material for the community, and are also becoming Naskapi mother-tongue language specialists.

The SIL field worker has been employed as the Naskapi Development Corporation's linguist in residence and is responsible for the coordination and training of Naskapi language specialists in the community. He acts as a liaison not among the Band, Development Corporation, the Naskapi church and school, but also serves as a technical resource on language matters for clients and consultants from outside the community.

Naskapi Curriculum Development In spite of the slow response of the Naskapi educational system to recognize and address the endangerment of the Naskapi language, certain individuals within the Naskapi school have endeavored to take action toward Naskapi language vitality. Around 1989, Mr. Stephen Kohner, a teacher at the English elementary school in the community, recognized that early education in the mother tongue could improve students' later achievement in English. Prior to this time, the Naskapi school followed a tacit policy of English immersion beginning as early as pre-kindergarten, even though three Naskapi teachers had been trained by Dr. MacKenzie through the Amerindianization of the Schools project. Although students were becoming marginally successful in English, students who were successfully literate in Naskapi were rare. As an educator, Kohner took on the task of starting what has grown into the Naskapi Curriculum Development Project.

In collaboration with the SIL linguist, and using material developed by other Native communities in Quebec as a guide, he laid the groundwork and secured funding for material that would become the grade one Naskapi language curriculum.

Through his encouragement, other educators at the school eventually caught the vision for the project, and by 1994 the school and Naskapi leaders decided to set a goal of Naskapi as the language of instruction for all subjects in the early elementary grades. This was a radical departure from the system which was in place, in which the Naskapi language was only taught as a subject: less than one session per day: while all other subjects were conducted in English. A Naskapi Curriculum Development committee was formed that included non-Naskapi specialists, Naskapi teachers, Naskapi elders, and other community members. Under the leadership of pedagogical specialist Ms. Avril Aitken, Naskapi resource persons were trained and began to produce a coherent Naskapi curriculum.

By the 1995-1996 school year, material was ready to conduct pre-kindergarten in Naskapi as the language of instruction. The goal established by the Curriculum Development Committee was that each year following, the next grade up would be added. For the school year 1997-1998, grade one was conducted in Naskapi, using curriculum produced by the staff of the curriculum project. In objective testing, it was determined that the project's first grade students' ability in written Naskapi surpassed that of students entering secondary, who were not able to benefit from the project. Also this year, Ms. Martha Mary Shecanapish, a Naskapi language specialist in training, has been gradually assuming much of the leadership initially provided by Ms. Aitken.

It is obvious that if the curriculum development project is to be successful, it will take the combined efforts of many persons working together, Naskapi and non-native specialists alike. The training and involvement of Naskapi persons as specialists has become a major challenge and goal of the project. While this has strained the financial resources, it has helped to raise the public awareness in the community that although the language may be endangered, there are mitigating steps that the community may take and indeed have begun to take.

Currently the Naskapi curriculum development project still lacks the "critical mass" of committed individuals, trained Naskapi workers and experienced specialists. What is needed is vision and will among administrators and Naskapi educators, and the strategic distribution of financial resources to retain language and educational specialists and to provide quality pedagogical training to Naskapi teachers.

Other Projects Besides the projects listed above, language specialists also have a role in other projects related to Naskapi language, including the Naskapi radio station, a Naskapi grammar, and a Naskapi history book.

Summary and Conclusions

In this community, the status of language endangerment is subtle: while children are still first language speakers, and adults tend to be quadrilingual, there is still a strong tendency to merge the related dialects of Naskapi and Montagnais (Innu). Also, Naskapi speakers tend to be very tolerant of variation, unlike other languages. Further, there is serious ambivalence at the community level because of the real need for English as a second language. These factors could be leading to rapid language shift.

Non-Naskapi Specialists

Throughout recent history, the Naskapi language community has clearly benefited from the efforts of non-Naskapi specialists working toward the preservation and maintenance of the Naskapi language. Linguists, anthropologists, educators and clergy have all played an important role in developing Naskapi language materials, both by actually producing the material, but also by working to equip the Naskapi people themselves to carry out this task on their own.

While most involvement by specialists from the outside has been beneficial, clearly the work that has been most effective was carried on by specialists who have had long-term involvement in the community on a personal level. These specialists have made efforts to learn to speak, read and write the language themselves. A generalization could be made that works in other endangered languages might enjoy greater effectiveness whenever the specialists from the outside take a long-term personal interest in the people group and invest time and effort in language learning. The Summer Institute of Linguistics has been committed to providing these kinds of specialists to endangered language communities.

An important mentoring and training relationship has developed between Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie and the SIL field worker. The field worker has been successful in earning the day to day trust of the community, and indeed has been invited to serve as the community's "linguist in residence", becoming a salaried worker employed by the Naskapi Development corporation. By working in close cooperation with Dr. MacKenzie, the varied resources that may be provided by historical and comparative work in other communities serve to enhance the work provided specifically to the Naskapi community. The resident SIL linguist has been instrumental in bringing the various players in the community together in a coordinated effort towards language preservation and development of materials.

Mother-Tongue Specialists

It has also been shown that through the efforts of Naskapi speakers who are confident in their own literacy skills, the community has maintained a high degree of language use through each generation up to the present. Still, it is important at this stage that Naskapi speakers begin to acquire the academic and technical skills necessary so that they themselves may begin to assume some of the language related responsibilities currently handled by non-Naskapis.

One vital ingredient that the Naskapi community has greatly benefited from is local leadership with a high degree of vernacular literacy. For twenty-six years, Joseph Guanish, a Naskapi with excellent ability in Naskapi reading and writing, was Chief of the Naskapi community. He acted as editor and compiler of the Naskapi lexicon, resource person and proofreader for Naskapi Bible translation projects, and is currently employed by the Naskapi curriculum development project. The chief and council have always placed a high priority on Naskapi language matters.

By comparison with the situations in other aboriginal communities in Northern Quebec, the vernacular literacy efforts have been much stronger in the administrative and political sectors yet weak in the educational sector. The Cree, on the other hand, have in general had better success in developing and implementing vernacular programs in the educational system, but enjoy much less involvement by the community administrative entities. The past two decades in the Naskapi community have been marked by respectable efforts on the part of the Naskapi Band Council and the Naskapi Development Corporation in maintaining and promoting the Naskapi language. At the time of this writing, six Naskapi persons have been trained and are currently employed by these two community organizations as Naskapi language professionals. But only very recently has any measurable progress been made by the Naskapi educational sector: for many years only one Naskapi person was employed full time in Naskapi language education.

If anything is clear from this case study, it is that efforts to maintain the Naskapi language will continue to require the expertise and partnership of both non-Naskapi specialists and Naskapi speakers themselves. If this partnership is recognized and implemented by the Naskapi leadership in the community and the specialists that serve them, this generation of Naskapi speakers may be confident that they are doing what they can to assure the future of their language and thus their identity.

Acknowledgements

I acknowledge with gratitude the confidence the Naskapi people have placed in me, a non-Naskapi language specialist. I am grateful for their vision and foresight in retaining me as their linguist serving their community, and their assistance and patience as I learn their language.

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What Educators Can Do to Aid Community Efforts at Indigenous Language Revitalization

Gina Cantoni and Jon Reyhner
Center for Excellence in Education
P.O. Box 5774, Northern Arizona University, Flagstaff, Arizona, USA

Abstract

This paper describes some of the things education professionals can do to promote parent and community efforts at indigenous language revitalization. We first look at what school administrators, curriculum specialists, and teachers need to be knowledgeable about in order to support these efforts, including adapting existing models for teaching languages, developing research skills of teachers, providing political support, and how educators can help dispel popular misconceptions about bilingualism.

Introduction

While schools, and the educators that work in them, should not be relied on to keep an indigenous language alive, they can help make the difference between life and death for that language through their support or opposition. In the United States of America schools have played a major role in the endangerment and even death of American Indian languages. This negative role was recognized with the passage of the Native American Languages Act of 1990, which was a symbolic attempt to reverse past government assimilationist policies with a new policy to preserve, protect, and promote Native American languages. This paper is a description of how university professors of education, schoolteachers, curriculum specialists and school administrators can aid parent and community efforts at language revitalization.

School Administrators

While university professors traditionally have a fair amount of academic freedom to choose their course content and teaching method, elementary and secondary teachers are much more constrained in what they do. It is imperative that school administrators and curriculum specialists are knowledgeable about the issues involved in teaching indigenous minorities, so they can provide intelligent guidance to the schools they manage. This necessary knowledge includes knowledge of the past history of indigenous education, knowledge of why indigenous minority students historically have lower academic achievement and a higher school dropout rate than majority group students, knowledge of socio-cultural factors affecting indigenous student performance, knowledge of issues involved in first and second language development, and knowledge of native curriculum (Reyhner, Gabbard, & Lee, 1995).

School administrators need to be leaders of instruction who are thoroughly knowledgeable about curriculum and teaching methods for the grade levels for which they are responsible. School administrators working in schools with indigenous students need to have additional knowledge beyond what most university preparation programs provide. They need anthropological, sociological, and historical foundations of education that prepare them to deal with indigenous and cross-cultural educational environments. They need training in culturally responsive instructional methodologies, bilingual and English as a second language (ESL) teaching methodologies, and how to nativize/contextualize the curriculum (Reyhner, Lee, & Gabbard, 1993). School administrators who are well prepared in the field of indigenous education are better prepared to work with indigenous communities, to help select teachers, to provide in-service training for their teachers, and to provide curricular leadership in the schools they work.

School administrators can help create a culturally sensitive instructional environment in the schools they work. However, it is the curriculum specialists and the teachers they supervise that are involved in the day-to-day interaction with students that either supports or discourages students to either learn or continue to develop their community's indigenous language and pass it on to their children. Therefore, the preparation of those teachers is vital to whether a school provides a supportive environment for the revitalization of indigenous languages.

Curriculum Specialists

St. Clair (1982) describes a number of ways educators can work with indigenous communities and linguists to develop grammars, dictionaries, and other curriculum materials that are suitable for use with children in school classrooms. Linguists have done a lot to document languages, but their work is often inaccessible and of little use to laypersons and especially children. "Action linguists" as described by Akira Yamamoto and Lucille Watahomigie (1987) have worked effectively with Native and non-Native educators to develop effective indigenous language curriculum and materials. "It Really Works: Cultural Communication Proficiency" (Bennett, 1997) is a recent example of the type of collaborative indigenous language curriculum material that can be produced for classroom use.

The authors of this paper have personally been involved in a variety of efforts to disseminate information about indigenous languages, including organizing the Stabilizing Indigenous Languages Symposiums, editing three conference proceedings (Cantoni, 1996; Reyhner, 1990 & 1997), editing and writing newsletter columns in the newsletter of the National Association for Bilingual Education, and writing journal articles (e.g., Reyhner & Tennant, 1995). We believe these efforts combined with the efforts of many others (see e.g., the special Winter 1995 issue of the *Bilingual Research Journal* on Indigenous Language Education and Literacy edited by Teresa L. McCarty and Ofelia Zepeda) have had a significant impact on improving school- and community-based indigenous language revitalization efforts.

Teachers

While school administrators can create a favorable climate in schools for the development of indigenous languages and curriculum specialists can develop effective and attractive materials, it is the classroom teacher that actually impacts for good or ill the students. In addition to being proficient in the language of their tribe, teachers utilize knowledge, skills and attitudes that they have gained from teacher-training programs. They link teaching acts to learning behaviors, instructional activities to learning tasks, and research findings to classroom procedures. A substantial body of literature deals with the preparation and professional development of foreign and second language teachers and discusses a wide range of approaches and methods. Some of them are compatible with each other, some are not, but throughout history people have succeeded in learning additional languages, with or without the benefit of direct instruction. No one method is superior to all others and suitable for all learners.

This is not to say that classroom instruction should consist of randomly chosen activities (uncritical eclecticism). Certain kinds of practices are enjoyable and productive for certain kinds of students and not for others; unsatisfactory choices should be modified or replaced with more promising ones. Wise decisions are often the result of a teacher's knowledge and understanding of theory and of pedagogical issues such as:

- What is known about effective teaching?
- What concerns need to be addressed in second language instruction?
- How can teachers discover how their students learn?
- How can one evaluate a language lesson?
- How can teachers reflect on their own practices?

For teachers of minority languages, especially indigenous ones in danger of extinction, relevant answers to the above questions are unlikely to come directly from the professional literature. For example, in his comprehensive summary of the state of the art of second language instruction, Ramirez (1995) discusses theories and methods that have been applied successfully to the teaching of French, German, and Spanish to English speaking learners. He states that teaching is a dynamic process shaped by factors such as program goals, teaching philosophies, and student characteristics and that individual teachers ultimately construct their own theories about language learning and establish their own procedures for meeting specific student and community needs.

After proper attention to Ramirez and to many other experts, one still needs to explore what is needed for creating a context likely to promote the learning and use of an indigenous language in danger of being displaced by a dominant language such as English. One of the many differences between the two situations is that French, German, and Spanish have been taught as academic subjects for a long time: indigenous languages have not. The teaching of European languages has a rich and solid tradition and a vast array of resources. When it comes to teaching indigenous languages such as Navajo or Hopi, we have very few guidelines or materials. The classroom teacher, who has been professionally trained, is not necessarily a fluent speaker; the aide may be more proficient, or an elder may be brought in as a consultant. The elder is not likely to have been taught the tribal language in class and is not likely to be familiar with schooling practices. The question becomes how can the few available resources be brought together and helped to function? The answer to this question lies in adapting existing second language teaching models and encouraging teachers to do action research in their classrooms to test these existing models and to develop new ones.

Adapting existing models

In spite of the differences between Native American and mainstream classrooms, various methods that had been used for teaching foreign languages such as French and Spanish have been adapted to indigenous language instruction with relatively few problems. Utilizing a program of proven quality and effectiveness, even in a new setting, is often more expedient and less risky than creating a different one.

A good example of such adaptations is the Total Physical Response (TPR) which was developed in the 1960's (Asher, 1996) to avoid the problems learners encountered in their early attempts to reproduce what the teacher had said in the target language. TPR gives students a chance to remain silent while they concentrate on understanding some simple commands, and they demonstrate comprehension by performing the appropriate action such as picking up the red pencil (not the blue one!) and touching the baby's nose (not its chin!).

In the USA, TPR has found enthusiastic acceptance among many educators, including several teachers of indigenous languages. At professional conferences some of them have given very entertaining and convincing demonstrations of their ability to teach not only members of their tribes but also several non-Indians (usually monolingual in English) to respond accurately to commands given in Navajo.

TPR was never intended to develop speaking skills, although the more advanced students are eventually allowed and encouraged to take on the teacher's role and issue commands to others. What should come next, especially since TPR is usually so lively and entertaining, with full audience participation?

Obviously, there is a need for something new, since commands are only a tiny part of the functions for which one needs a language. More importantly, those Native Americans who intend to teach their language to the next generation cannot afford to continue to listen without speaking; they have to interact verbally.

In their "Natural Approach" model, Krashen and Terrell (1983) view TPR as one acceptable way of providing learners with the "Silent Period" that represents the first stage of all language acquisition. Next comes the "Early Speech Production" stage, which progresses from answering simple questions (yes/no; either/or; who/what/where/when/ why) to asking them of others, and producing short dialogues. In the following stage, called "Speech Emergence," the students engage in language games and various information sharing and problem solving activities.

TPR has also become the cornerstone of TPR-Storytelling (TPR-S), an informal, grassroots approach developed by an increasingly broad network of enthusiastic practitioners (Cantoni, 1998). In this approach the teacher uses vocabulary previously taught through actions to create mini-stories, which are then combined into longer and more complex narratives. The students then create their own stories, act them out, share them with others, write them down, edit them for publication, thus developing speaking skills and literacy.

Although TPR-S has to our knowledge has only been used for teaching Spanish, French, German, and ESL, it seems quite applicable to Native language instruction. After introducing the language through TPR, the teachers could create contexts for on-going progress through Early Speech Production activities of through TPR-S, or even through a combination of both programs. It would be interesting to document these initiatives and find out the justification for each choice. Compared to Krashen's "Early Speech Production," which is carefully sequenced in a somewhat prescriptive way, TPR-S encourages spontaneity and creativity, but is not as likely to result in error-free production. How the teachers of indigenous languages will deal with these challenges is yet to be discovered.

Research

An important contribution of teacher-trainers to indigenous language maintenance is the development of research skills among Native students interested in recording and analyzing what happens in their classrooms. This information can help the development of more effective programs, curricula, and instructional practices.

Although language learning in classroom contexts is a rapidly growing area of research, scant attention has been paid to situations in which the target language is spoken only by a limited number of people. It is far from clear what aspects of their conversational competence are taught or can be explicitly taught in school. Achievement may be tied to individual identity and motivation (Scarcella, 1990), and traditional styles of speaking may have little appeal for the younger generation in a rapidly changing world. We need precise and detailed ethnographic descriptions of interaction styles acceptable in specific contexts if we want indigenous languages to be taught in an authentic manner rather than as translations of English discourse.

Another issue to be addressed is the relationship between oral and written language. Current research is not very relevant to the teaching of indigenous languages and provides little guidance about the potential of technology as a more accurate and complete means of recording and archiving language than writing has ever offered. We cannot only record speech. We need to add the visual information that accompanies it and constitutes an important component of intended and received messages.

If literacy is considered important to an indigenous group, it should of course be pursued as effectively as possible, and problems will arise because of the scarcity of materials available in print. One of the curricular goals to be considered in such cases would be that writing instruction should result in the production of a large body of texts to be used by novice as well as expert readers, not just in school but during their entire lives.

Another goal of writing instruction would be to encourage learners to produce increasingly longer texts, with a high level of creativity and a diminishing number of errors. When grammatical correctness is an issue, it can be achieved more easily through writing than through speaking, since a written paper gives many opportunities for reflection, review and correction.

Writers have to pay attention not just to spelling and sentence structure but to higher-order issues such as meaning, genre, style, purpose, and audience. It seems pointless to teach students to write in their tribal language if the resulting texts could just as well be in English. It is important to find out what topics can best (or only) be addressed in the tribal language and how the texts can achieve authenticity and acceptability according to the tribe's norms (not those of the English class).

All interaction, oral as well as written, involves decisions about what to say (to whom, where, and when) and whether it is proper to elaborate on it in accordance not only with one's intentions but with the cultural norms of those with whom one wishes to maintain rapport. Successful conversations in a native language are not likely to consist of the same things one would say in English, spoken in a manner appropriate for English language contexts. Conversational competence includes ways of exchanging information as well as socializing functions such as greetings, leave-takings and introductions. Tribal contexts, rather than English ones, constitute the proper models for developing these skills. Navajo self-introductions, for example, are based on complex clan relationships that are hard to render into English. Navajo speakers often introduce themselves in their own language, even to audiences that do not know it. This seems to be an important ritual, even if the body of the speech is given in English for practical reasons.

Tribal contexts, rather than English ones, provide appropriate models for teaching culture-specific conversational competence, and these models should, if permissible, be recorded and shared. There may be only a few authentic models of written communication in Tribal languages, and Native scholars have an exciting challenge ahead. Research can help them determine how much or how little is known about the discourse rules of an indigenous language, and how to make this knowledge useful to the instructors and curriculum developers working for their people.

Supporting the Minority Rights

Outside of their schools and classrooms educators through there professional, fraternal, and political organizations are valuable and necessary allies to indigenous peoples to create a climate of appreciation for minority cultures and languages. Professional organizations of educators, such as the American Educational Research Association (AERA), the National Education Association (NEA) (see e.g., National Education Association, 1988), and the Teachers of English to Speakers of Other Languages (TESOL) routinely support bilingual education in opposition to the Conservative forces that call for English Only.

Lani Guinier (1994) in her book *The Tyranny of the Majority: Fundamental Fairness in Representative Democracy* describes how in democracies minorities routinely are outvoted by majorities. Without support from majority group members, minority concerns are frequently ignored. While in the United States minorities have constitutional protections that have allowed courts to overturn English Only and other repressive laws passed by congress, state legislatures, or a majority of the people in states that allow popular initiatives, both federal and state constitutions can be amended. If indigenous minorities and their allies do not continue to mount an effective campaign to dispel the many misconceptions that many voters have about languages and their role in nations, communities, and schools then indigenous minorities in the United States are in danger of losing their freedom to speech.

Dispelling Misconceptions

Educators can help eliminate some commonly held misconceptions that promote monolingualism. These beliefs are accepted unquestioningly by a large portion of the general public in the USA, including Native American and other minority populations. Not all those who have contributed to the plight of endangered languages have acted in bad faith or out of self-interest; many have simply been ill-informed, and it is this aspect of the indigenous language issue that knowledgeable educators are best equipped to handle.

The misconceptions addressed in this paper are:

1. That if all the world's peoples had a common language, wars would come to an end.
2. That the time spent learning and using an indigenous language can retard or damage the development of a more economically useful language.
3. That some languages are intrinsically superior to others: those that have a written code are superior to those that are only spoken, and dialects are different from and inferior to languages having official or national status.

The first misconception has led to the creation of at least one artificial language, Esperanto, which has gained supporters all over the world. Those who make the effort to learn it would choose peace over war, if they were given such an opportunity, but the world is not listening. History indicates that there can be long lasting harmony among speakers of different languages, as is the case in Switzerland, and that there can be fierce animosity between peoples who share a common language, as happened in the American Civil War.

This misconception is used by the supporters of the "English Only" movement (Crawford, 1992) who are trying to undermine the viability of all languages used in this country except English; they do not make an exception for the languages of the country's first residents, the Native Americans.

The second misconception assumes that children will be harmed and confused if they are exposed to more than one language during their early years. This belief has had a particularly disastrous effect on the maintenance of indigenous languages after the introduction of schooling in Native communities. Children were punished for speaking their tribal language in school, and the memory of such mistreatment is kept alive today by the descendants of those who suffered it. In many cases the students who had their mouths washed out with soap for using their home language learned English and became bilingual, but they did not transmit the tribal language to the next generation. In this decision they were strongly supported by the school authorities. Teachers told parents that in order to promote their children's academic success they should use English, and only English, in their home. Many parents complied, or tried to, even if their English proficiency was so low that they could not create a suitable context for language acquisition. The school provided input in English, but the tribal language was lost to a generation of learners who are now adults, with children of their own, with whom they converse in English.

The teachers who told parents to use only English at home for their children's sake had not been aware of child-rearing practices where multilingualism is a desired and successful outcome. However, today's educators have greater opportunities for travel and international experiences; they also have access to research findings and theoretical models (Cummins & Swain, 1980) they point out that knowledge acquired in one language (L1) transfers to subsequently learned languages (L2). This kind of information has been available for years, but it still needs to be demonstrated more effectively to wider audiences.

The third misconception consists of ranking some languages above others that are seen as "primitive," or related to the status of "dialects." Unfortunately, these arbitrary judgments can affect the decisions of policy makers and have serious consequences for the average citizen. For example, when one variant of a language is chosen as its country's "standard" (as thereby no longer considered a dialect) its speakers gain status and privileges, since their speech identifies them as the elite. Non-standard speakers tend to lag behind the speakers of the "standard" form of the language both socially and economically.

Although the standard variant of a language is not intrinsically superior to the vernaculars of poor and under schooled communities, their members will have limited opportunities for advancement. It is not wrong to use "ain't" and double negatives, but it may be counterproductive in certain sectors of contemporary American society.

In 1997 these problems gained a great deal of attention and media coverage in the USA when the low academic achievement of African American students was attributed to their use of the Black vernacular, referred to as "Ebonics" by some school authorities. Many reforms were demanded, and one can only applaud this long-overdue concern for the plight of these young people. However, it seems amazing that most of the educators quoted by the media seemed to have little or no up-to-date information about research findings that could have clarified many of the issues they were addressing. Since this information has been available for several years, one can only regret that it was not included in the course work required for teacher pre- and in-service development.

The recommendation that schools replace the Black vernacular with Standard English, if indeed it comes to pass, would result in the loss of a rich linguistic heritage and increasing disrespect for the elders who had been transmitting it. Black English is also the key to the unique success of many African American performers, and precious survival tools for children whose peers would not appreciate their talking like white people or English professors.

Of course Standard English should be taught in American schools, and along with it the communicative skills involved in determining the most effective way of presenting oneself in a particular situation to specific audience, for a given purpose. Adding to a learner's existing linguistic repertoire and enriching it instead of replacing it is what educators can teach and demonstrate for the sake of the language rights of all peoples, including Blacks and Native Americans.

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Endangered Languages, their Speakers and the Language Specialist: the Case of Mocoví

Verónica M. Grondona
University of Pittsburgh
veronica@verb.linguist.pitt.edu

Abstract

This paper presents an overview of the linguistic work undertaken in the last few years among the Mocoví in southern Chaco province in Argentina, the effects of professional involvement on one Mocoví community, and the challenges encountered in the process.

1. Introduction

Mocoví, or [moqoyt la/qa:tqa] *'Mocoví language'*, is an American Indian language with a number of speakers ranging between 4,000 and 7,000. They live in communities scattered in northern Santa Fé and southern Chaco provinces in Argentina. Mocoví belongs to the Southern branch of the Waikurúan language family[1].

It was not until the mid-20th century that Mocoví speakers came into intense contact with Spanish speakers, both through their work as migrant workers and through the establishment of elementary education in their communities carried out by monolingual Spanish speakers. The Mocoví have been able to maintain their native language, and their children still learn Mocoví as their first language. However, contact with Spanish has increased tremendously in the last ten years, and especially in the last eighteen months as transportation to and from town has improved. In the Colonia "El Pastoril" in southern Chaco province, most if not all the families own a radio and radio transmission in the area is in Spanish. A few households own a television set, and all the programs are in Spanish. This recent intense contact with Spanish is seriously threatening the survival of Mocoví.

This paper is organized as follows: Section 2 provides a historical background summarizing the contact that the Mocoví have had with Spanish speakers since the 17th century. Section 3 presents an overview of the linguistic work on Mocoví before 1991, most of it carried out by missionaries in the 18th and 19th centuries, and in § 4 I provide an overview of bilingual education among the Mocoví of southern Chaco. Section 5 describes the recent lingistic work undertaken with the purpose of documenting the language through the production of a grammar and a dictionary. It shows the effects of professional involvement on one Mocoví community in southern Chaco: the recent establishment of a bilingual education program; the native speakers involved in the production of literacy materials, the institutional support the program has received, and what the accomplishments have been to date. In section 6 I discuss the linguistic, social, and political challenges encountered in the process. Finally, Section 7 outlines the work lying ahead: training and support of the native speakers involved, the general language maintenance and promotion work, and the activities to be undertaken for further documentation of the language.

2. Historical Background

Very little, if anything, is known of the Mocoví Indians in pre-Hispanic times, but there is little reason to believe that their lifestyle and traditions were much different from what they were in the 17th century, when we have the first European accounts of Indian groups in the Chaco region in Argentina. The Mocoví were nomadic hunters and gatherers. The bands or tribes moved in the area from the Bermejo River southwest down to the Salado River. Each tribe was made up of a few extended families. The men were in charge of hunting and fishing, and the women would gather wood and fruits and fetch water, and carry the small children and their belongings when they moved.

In the second half of the 16th century the Spanish started founding settlements on the border of the region inhabited by the Mocoví. The Mocoví, who by then had acquired horses, occasionally traded with the settlers in these towns, but also attacked and raided them frequently.

Between 1743 and 1767 two of the Jesuit missions founded in the southern Chaco region included mostly Mocoví families. The Jesuits provided them with cattle and showed them how to work the land in an attempt to make them sedentary. After 1767, with the Jesuit expulsion from the region, the missions declined rapidly. Around the late 1850s Father Francisco Tavolini, an Italian missionary member of a Spanish religious order, was sent to the former mission of San Pedro, now called "reducción" (namely an Indian community headed by a European priest), which at the time had mostly Mocoví Indians. Father Tavolini spent approximately three years in the "reducción", during which time he wrote a description of the language which was edited and published by Samuel A. Lafone Quevedo in 1892 (see below for details).

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[1] The Waikurúan language family comprises two branches: Waikurúan and Southern Waikurúan. The Waikurúan branch includes Mbayá, and its only descendant Kadiwéu. The Southern Branch includes Mocoví, Pilagá, Toba, and the extinct Abipón.

In the late 19th century and the first half of the 20th century the Europeans entered more and more into the Chaco, forcing the Indians to settle in small communities and to adopt a sedentary life. Some of them worked as peons for European landowners, clearing land of bushes and trees and preparing it for grazing and planting. Others settled in communities scattered around the region and started working as temporary laborers, preparing the land for planting, and later harvesting the crops, mainly cotton. It was only the chiefs and the male heads of families who communicated with Spanish speakers. Their level of bilingualism was not high, but it was enough to negotiate a price for their work, and to purchase food, such as sugar or "yerba" (a type of tea typical of the region).

At present it is still the men who are in closer contact with Spanish speakers, since they are the ones who negotiate with the landowners, who go into town for supplies, and who may travel farther away in search of work when there is no work in the home area. In the Colonia "El Pastoril", the women and children who attend school have contact with the teachers, all of them Spanish monolinguals, and sometimes with the doctor who goes to the community once a week. Most if not all the families own a radio and listen to it almost constantly. Radio transmission in the area is in Spanish. A few households have a television set (all the programs are in Spanish), and I know of one household that owns a VCR. The level of bilingualism in Mocoví speakers varies from high proficiency in Spanish (mostly men 25-50 years old) to no knowledge of Spanish (mainly older adults, mostly women but some men as well, and children up to 5 years old). Younger women tend to be more proficient in Spanish than older women. In the last year transportation to and from the town, some five kilometers away, has improved, and the Mocoví go to town more frequently during the harvesting season when money and work are more readily available. The more contact a speaker has with the Spanish-speaking world, the higher his or her level of bilingualism.

3. Previous Linguistic Work

Very little work has been done on Mocoví up until now. There is an 1892 grammar of Mocoví by Lafone Quevedo that is based on a manuscript by Francisco Tavolini, a Jesuit priest, dating from between 1854 and 1864; a paper on palatalization in two varieties of Mocoví by Gualdieri, and a study on zoological names and ethno-zoology of the Pilagá, Toba, Mocoví, Mataco and Vilela by Martínez Crovetto, an Argentinian agronomist. An Evangelical Minister, Alberto Buckwalter, is said to be working on a dictionary of Mocoví. The two historical works on the Waikurúan family are a paper on the reconstruction of the pronominals and demonstratives of Proto-Waikuruan by Ceria and Sandalo (1995), which includes a reconstruction of the phonological system of Proto-Waikurúan largely based on unpublished work by Terrence Kaufman, and a paper by Vidal on the pronominal system of Waikurúan languages.

Mocoví was not a written language. However, in the 1950s a group of missionaries developed a writing system for Toba which was later extended to Mocoví and which was largely based on the Spanish writing system. The only written text in Mocoví is a translation of the bible by Mr. Buckwalter.

4. Bilingual Education among the Mocoví

The needs of the Indigenous population in Argentina, their languages, and their cultures have been largely ignored by the provincial and national education systems. In many cases native speakers of indigenous languages have been, and still are, encouraged to abandon their native languages in favor of Spanish. Most initiatives for bilingual and/or bicultural programs are at the local level, and in many cases they are privately funded. The situation in the Colonia "El Pastoril" in southern Chaco is not much different.

In the mid 1940s the elementary school #418 was founded in the Colonia "El Pastoril", one of the biggest Mocoví communities in the Southern Chaco region. The aim was to teach the Indians Spanish and to give them an education. The teachers were monolingual Spanish speakers; most Mocoví children and adults did not speak Spanish. The school is still operating today; the teachers are still all native speakers of Spanish who do not speak Mocoví. The children learn Mocoví as their first language and start attending school around the age of 5 or 6, but few of them finish elementary school; most drop out in third or fourth grade. There have been attempts to teach Spanish reading and writing to adult women, but the results have not been good.

In May 1987 the House of Representatives of the Chaco province passed a law which included a project to guarantee bilingual-bicultural education to students attending school in indigenous communities. In the late 1980s, as a result of this law, the government of Chaco started the Bilingual-Intercultural Education Program (Programa de Educación Bilingüe Intercultural) intended to train native speakers of indigenous languages in the province as 'bilingual helpers'. These were members of the various indigenous communities in Chaco who had finished elementary school. The training program would last approximately two to three years and the bilingual helpers were guaranteed jobs in the elementary schools in their communities. The first group to graduate in 1989 is now working in different communities and it includes three Mocoví speakers from the Colonia "El Pastoril". However, their jobs have been mainly to serve as translators and interpreters between the school teachers, all native speakers of Spanish, and the students, and to perform menial jobs at the school. Recent graduates from the program have been waiting for over two years to be assigned a position at a school in one of their communities.

5. Recent Linguistic Work

In May 1991 I made my first trip to Villa Angela, a town in the southwestern part of Chaco province in Argentina. I started working with native speakers of Mocoví at the Colonia "El Pastoril" located approximately five kilometers away from town. I was at the time a PhD in linguistics at the University of Pittsburgh. I have now been working with the Mocoví for 7 years. The data collection consists of elicitation sessions, as well as the recording and analysis of texts from native speakers. I was also able to established a working relationship with some of the school staff, addressing their linguistic concerns, and assisting in various issues ranging from project proposals to everyday issues affecting the community.

The purpose of this linguistic work is twofold. On the one hand it is intended to provide a description of a poorly documented language to be used by linguists and language specialists. On the other hand, it is intended to produce a grammar and a dictionary of Mocoví that can be used by community members and school teachers to aid in bilingual education programs in Mocoví communities.

During a trip to southern Chaco in early 1996, the principal of the elementary school in the Mocoví community of Colonia "El Pastoril" approached me with a concern and a request: the dropout rates were too high; the few that did graduate took too many years to finish; the success rate was too low. Could I help? A new program was developed with the participation of the local school administrator, two bilingual helpers and myself. The goal of the program was to teach first graders how to read and write in Mocoví, and teach them Spanish as a second language. Once they had acquired enough knowledge of Spanish, they could start having regular classes in Spanish. We designed a plan to put the program into practice. The idea was that the bilingual helpers would teach reading and writing in Mocoví, and they would conduct the class in their native language. The Spanish teacher would be present, but only as an aid to the bilingual helper. The students would also receive instruction in Spanish as a second language from the Spanish monolingual teacher.

The bilingual helpers, with the aid of the linguist, are now developing material to implement instruction in Mocoví. This is no menial task: the language itself is poorly documented, and there are virtually no teaching materials available. We have developed a few chapters of a textbook to be used in the first grade to teach Mocoví graphemes to first graders, and we have plans to expand the textbook to include short sections on social and natural sciences, subjects that are required in the Argentinian elementary school curriculum. In March 1997, the beginning of the calendar year in Argentina, the program was inplemented in the first grade of the Elementary School #418 of the Colonia "El Pastoril". In August of 1997, after only five months of the start of the program, the students were able to identify and produce most of the Mocoví graphemes (a total of twenty-four), when in previous years they could only recognize no more than six after the first year of instruction. The students are enthusiastic, they readily volunteer answers to the bilingual helper's questions, and willingly participate in all the learning activities. Although the program is very recent and has only been implemented in the first grade, the results are quite promising.

However, there are numerous obstacles that both the program and its participants need to surpass. In the following section I will discuss some of the most important linguistic, social and political problems that challenge the success of the program.

6. Linguistic, Social and Political Challenges

There are numerous problems faced by the Mocoví of Chaco, and particularly those of the Colonia "El Pastoril". These problems directly or indirectly affect the maintenance of their native language. I will first discuss some of the problems that directly affect the maintenance of their language, and then turn to more general social and political problems that they face.

One of the main problems more directly related to the implementation of the bilingual program and the maintenance of their indigenous language is the negative attitude that many members of the community have towards their language and culture. Mocoví is often considered inferior, not as prestigious as Spanish, and many members of the community deny their own indigenous identity; they see their own language and culture as a drawback. Many adult members of the community are reluctant to have Mocoví taught at school; they do not trust or respect the local school or the school staff, and often times they do not see any value in education itself. Such an attitude is not surprising given the fact that the education system in Argentina has for the most part ignored indigenous populations and their needs.

Among the more 'technical' problems that pose a challenge to the program are the writing system and the lack of material and training of qualified native speakers. Although a writing system was developed for Mocoví, it is greatly inefficient, complex, and hard to learn, since it is based on the Spanish writing system. The lack of written literacy materials and descriptive work on the language poses a big challenge. It is impossible to develop a bilingual program on a language whose system is unknown, and it is virtually impossible to teach native speakers to read and write in their language if literacy materials are not available. None of this work is feasable without the training and support of native speakers of the language(s) involved, as well as the guidance and support of language specialists. The provincial program for teacher training and material development that was started in the late 1980s was a first step, but it had no financial or institutional support after the first few years.

There are numerous social and political problems that indirectly affect the maintenance of the native language among the Mocoví of Chaco. Mocoví is the smallest indigenous language in Chaco in terms of number of speakers. Members of the various communities have difficulties organizing themselves, due on the one hand to the fact that the Mocoví communities are geographically distant from each other and some of them have difficult access from main roads and highways, and on the other hand the fact that there are internal political and religious divisions that affect the organization of the community. As a result, they lack political power and representation in the face of the provincial and national authorities. The Mocoví are also among the poorest population in the province. They lack any reliable and stable means of survival, and in recent years they have started migrating to urban centers in search of jobs. They have serious health problems, among them tuberculosis and the 'mal de chagas', a fatal disease transmitted by a tick found in poor and rundown households in the region. With lack of political organization and representation, poor health, and no reliable means of survival, maintenance of their native language is certainly not a priority or a matter of concern for most members of the community.

In the last few years, we have seen a few changes in Argentina affecting indigenous communities in general. In 1989 the National Institute of Indian Affairs was created, although their task is enormous since they are in charge of all issues concerning indigenous populations in the country and their budget is extremely low. There has been a partial improvement of the legal status of some indigenous communities, and a few of them are starting to get some representation at local governmental levels. However, more needs to be done, both at the national and the provincial levels. Strong institutional and financial support are needed.

Not all is yet lost, and there is still hope for the Mocoví and other indigenous communities in Argentina, their indigenous languages and their cultures. In the next section I outline the work that lies ahead: the training and support of the native speakers involved, the general language maintenance and promotion work, and the activities to be undertaken for further documentation of the language.

7. The Work Lying Ahead

Although much needs to be done to protect the Mocoví of the Colonia "El Pastoril", their language and their culture, there are certain pressing matters that directly affect language maintenance which need to be addressed now. These matters affect not only this community but most, if not all, other indigenous languages and cultures in Argentina.

There is a strong and urgent need to train native speakers as teachers, not just as 'bilingual helpers' and provide them with jobs in their indigenous communities. There is a strong need to give monolingual Spanish teachers the training they need to teach their language to non-native speakers, as well as to change their attitude towards the indigenous populations. This is hardly possible without extensive and accurate descriptions of the languages involved; linguists are needed to provide grammars and dictionaries of these languages. These descriptions would greatly help in the development of teaching materials, both for the students at the elementary schools, and for the teacher training programs. Finally, it is extremely important to return to the speakers of these languages the pride they once had in their own language and culture, as well as to change the attitude towards the indigenous peoples of the population at large. These languages have no chance of survival if their speakers and the rest of the society see no value in them.

There is much to be done, but the first steps have been taken.

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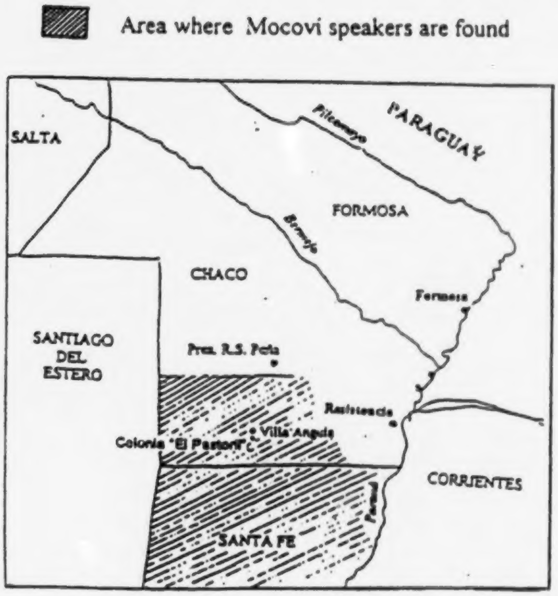
Appendix

Area where Mocoví is spoken

ARGENTINA
Area of detail


▨ Area where Mocovi speakers are found
SALTA
PARAGUAY
Pilcomayo
FORMOSA
Bermejo
CHACO
Formosa
SANTIAGO DEL ESTERO
Pres. R.S. Peña
Resistencia
Villa Angela
Colonia "El Pastoril"
CORRIENTES
Paraná
SANTA FE

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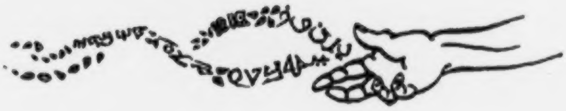

3

Understanding the Language from the Outside

Minority Languages in Istria: Experiences from a Sociolinguistic Fieldwork

Jens-Eberhard Jahn
University of Heidelberg

Abstract

The following article will consider the sociolinguistic situation in Istria, a multiethnic and plurilingual peninsula in the Northern Adriatic, focusing on the cases of Istrorumene and Istroromance, two particularly endangered language communities. Both groups are similar in that their languages are linguistically extremely interesting but are on the verge of extinction. On the background of previous research concerning these minorities and of some significant examples from personal experience about methodological dangers and difficulties in sociolinguistic field work, some questions about the role of the linguist in research and language policy will be discussed. The main emphasis will be placed on the Istrian situation, which not only represents a singular ethnic and linguistic patchwork, but which since the demise of Yugoslavia has been also strongly affected by the political tensions within this geopolitic region.

Since 1995 I have been working on a PhD-Thesis on language use and ethnic identity in Istria, which has now reached its final stage. My primary research interest lies in how language use and ethnic identity depend on each other in this traditionally multiethnic and plurilingual region, where a consistent part of the population is ethnically mixed and/or opted at the last census for a regional ethnical declaration, rather than a national one.

Today's lecture will be based, not on the quantifiable data I gathered with questionnaires from 605 informants and in about 40 interviews, but on the 'accidental data', which I received as an observer of the ethnolinguistic situation. In the second part, the actual linguistic and sociolinguistic situation of Istroromance and Istrorumene will be brought into focus. Some general remarks about how to avoid antagonising informants and experts in a plurilingual and multiethnic region and about possibilities for letting the results of such an investigation find their way back into people's awareness will follow.

Istria, a historical region in the northern Adriatic, is today divided between Italy, Slovenia and Croatia. In all three parts of the peninsula there live Italians, Slovenes and - apart from the small Italian part in the Northeast - Croats. In addition, we find Montenegrin, Istroromance and Istrorumene autochthonous linguistic minorities, and furthermore Albanians, Serbs, Macedonians and Bosnians, which immigrated after World War II.

Today, the following varieties can be heard in Istria (including the islands and Fiume), where a majority of the population is bi- and trilingual:

- the three standard varieties: Croatian, Italian and Slovene (Necak-Lük & Necak, 1990; Kobav, 1991; Ostanek, 1991);
- the autochthonous Slavonic (mostly Čakavian and Kajkavian) varieties (SL) (Malecki, 1930; Crljenko, 1995);
- the autochthonous Romance variety of Istroromance or Istriotic (IRO, in a few areas in the south-west of the peninsula);
- the Istrovenetian koinè (IV); (Crevatin, 1982; Milani Kruljac, 1990);
- the varieties of the linguistic islands: the Istrorumene (IRU, north and south of Učka mountain in central Istria) and the Istro-Montenegrin (at Peroj near Vodnjan) (Filipi, 1989);
- the varieties of the immigrants which came to Istria to repopulate especially the coastal regions, which had been left by most Italians after World War II (Wörsdörfer, 1994): allochthonous Slovenian and Croatian varieties, Albanian varieties, Serbian varieties and others.

The sociolinguistic constellation of Istria has been described as double diglossia (Milani Kruljac, 1990) and as dilalìa (Jahn, 1996)[1]. In previous ethnolinguistic investigations in the area only a rather weak correlation between mother-tongue and ethnic identity has been found (Bogliun, 1988, 25f; 1989; 1994). Factors like the school visited (croatophone versus italophone) seem to play a much more important role for the development of ethnic identity than mother tongue (Bogliun, 1988: 28). This is hardly surprising: in a region like Istria, where the majority of the population is bilingual, mother tongue can hardly have the function of a distinctive group-marker.

The drastic increase of tourism caused the standard of living in Istria to become the highest in the country. Having thus already distinguished itself while still part of Yugoslavia, the Istrian population were rather open to regionalist movements in the nineties. Heilborn (1995: 642) writes that this regionalism does not define itself ethnically but culturally. Where language use is concerned, mother-tongue becomes irrelevant when speakers are plurilingual: it depends on the context which idiom is chosen (see Nelde, 1990: 61). The sociologist and vice-president of the Croatian region Istria, Bogliun, however, perceives an ethnic borderline between autochthonous and allochthonous inhabitants of the peninsula: the autochthonous Croats, Slovenes and Italians would form one unique ethnic entity, to which the allochthonous Croats, Slovenes and Italians evidently do not belong (Bogliun 1992, 52)[2]. Nelde (1994, 298) and

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[1] For the concept of dilalìa see Berruto (1987).

[2] Bogliun (1992, 52): "L'istrianità esprime il connotato etnico-culturale della regione istriana. La realtà etnicamente più marcata e numericamente più determinante della componente italiana è quella istriana. È pertinente pertanto concettualizzare il concetto di istrianità quale esempio per la comprensione dei livelli di categorizzazione della comunità italiana residente in Istria. L'Istria è caratterizzata dal connotato dell'identità etnica istriana collettiva di tipo plurietnico, etnicamente omogenea e/o eterogena, quale

Horvat (1989, 81) criticise this notion, the latter claiming that a modern state has to take into account the mobility of its citizens. Istrian regionalism is often felt to be an answer to Zagabrian nationalist centralism, copying however the 'blood and soil' attitude of the latter by only defending the interests of the autochthonous part of the population and excluding the more recently immigrated part, quite ignoring that in this part of the Upper Adriatic Romance and Slavonic populations have been living together since the eighth century. Time and again during the last millennium, Romance and Slavonic settlers moved into Istria to repopulate the landscapes abandoned in consequence of epidemics and wars. As a result we find in Istria an almost unique patchwork of dialects and linguistic islands, interesting language-contact situations and linguistic convergence phenomena (Solta 1980, 155f):

- Development of "mixed" varieties, e.g. language varieties with a Slavonic linguistic base but strong interference from the Romance language system and a predominantly Romance lexicon[3].
- Slavonic and Romance autochthonous Istrians and new immigrants are "Venetianised" linguistically, in some cases also "Slavonised". (Milani Kruljac, 1990)

In 1991, forty years after the "exodus" of the majority of the Italo-Istrian population, the largest minority in Istria were the Serbs, not the "autochthonous" Italians. Nowadays, after the war in Bosnia Herzegovina, the Muslims, many of them refugees, are believed to be the largest ethnic minority-group in Istria. The Italians, although autochthonous, do not even live in a continuous territory any more. In public opinion, however, the difference between autochthonous and allochthonous inhabitants is an important factor[4]. While the linguist Milani Kruljac[5] hopes that the immigrants will be an enrichment of the peninsula, the sociologist Šuran demands that Italian should have the status of an official language for all of Istria, not because of the needs of the speakers but because he feels that as an autochthonous language it deserves this status (Šuran, 1994: 15). The same author states that it is necessary to create an Istrian identity which would integrate both autochthonous and allochthonous citizens, allowing both groups to feel as "Istrians".

The most evident expressions of the political and cultural regionalism in Istria are the big success of the IDS/DDI, the regionalist party, and the considerable number of regional self-declarations ('Istriano') in the 1991-Census. The following tables show this rise as compared to the 1981 census, and also that the phenomenon of a high number of regional declarations is limited to Croatian Istria:

	1981	1991
Croats	72.20%	58.48%
Italians	3.61%	6.76%
Serbs	4.06%	4.72%
Slovenes	1.58%	1.59%
"Regionals"	1.69%	16.29%
Others/missing	16.86%	12.16%

Table 1: Census data of Croatian Istria
(excluding the Quarner-islands and Rijeka/Fiume)

	total: 100%
Croats	56.47%
Italians	4.16%
Serbs	6.89%
Slovenes	11.45%
"Regionals"	7.81%
Others/missing	13.22%

Table 2: Census data of Slovene and Croatian Istria
(including Rijeka/Fiume and the Quarner-islands)

Together with the regional identity we can observe a renaissance of local dialects, mostly of the Čakavian but also of the IV idioms of the Croatian part of the peninsula. Even in Slovenia, were until recently very negative attitudes towards the dialects were rather common, the local varieties are gaining on domains which used to be reserved for the standard-language.

I received quite a lot of feedback on my research questions, both from personal communication and through "messages" written on the margins of the questionnaires, as well as from discussions with experts about my preceding research in this area. Some of these reactions were positive, but I have also been accused of adding fuel to the fire of intolerance and ethnic hate by asking people about ethnic and linguistic attitudes. Some people refused to answer my questionnaire because it failed to explicitly mention the Slovenian dialects of Istria. Proud Slovene regionalists did not want to participate in a research which seemed to deny the existence of their idioms, as has been the custom for decades[6].

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espressione dell'interculturalismo istriano. L'attuale popolazione istriana autoctona è caratterizzabile come un corpus plurietnico specifico, definibile come corpus etnico istriano." However, the results Bogliun found in the area around Buje/Buie cannot be generalised for the whole peninsula.

[3] For the current situation see Milani Kruljac & Orbanić (1989).

[4] I have received harsh criticism for suggesting (in an article about intercultural pedagogy in Istria; Jahn, 1995b) that the languages and cultures of the new immigrants might be as worthy of protection as the autochthonous languages and cultures.

[5] Milani Kruljac (1994: 125) writes: "Nell'ultimo cinquantennio l'Istria ha accolto croati e sloveni, serbi, macedoni, montenegrini, musulmani, albanesi, ecc. - tutti extra-regionali - e li ha digeriti tutti, sembra. Nella trasformazione profonda ha digerito la struttura profonda di ciò che si chiama un pregiudizio: il pregiudizio per l'Altro.
È stata molto dura, ma in fin dei conti l'Istria vive di questi incroci e ricambi, ne può derivare ricchezza se i processi si compiono nella gradualità e nel rispetto. Non certamente nelle lacerazioni e nelle convulsioni del dopoguerra che hanno prodotto, con l'esodo, la rottura del ecosistema ambientale e l'impatto traumatico degli italiani rimasti con il mondo slavo."

[6] The reason for my omission of the Slovene dialects was the fact that they are hardly ever considered even in the more

The several reasons provided by the informants, either for not participating at all or for leaving single questions unanswered are generally very interesting, because they show that many Istrians are aware of the function and danger of linguistic and ethnical stereotypes. This is probably due to a sensitisation because of the violent conflicts that erupted when Yugoslavia collapsed. Concerning questions about attitudes, some informants claimed that they were unable to express an opinion about a language they do not speak, others accused me of deliberately fanning the flames of ethnic hate, or felt that my questions had nothing to do with linguistics, telling me I should have better chosen another profession. It is interesting to see that only informants from the Italian minority showed this latter reaction, while only Croats in higher-rank positions in government institutions accused me of seriously endangering the Croatian state by focusing my research on minorities. Not surprisingly, these Croats would not participate in my research at all, a fact which would have almost made the "friend-of-a-friend-method" (Milroy, 1987: 66) of distributing the questionnaires impossible to apply. Especially the hopes I had set in the Croatian clergy to help me finding informants, especially Croats, in areas where I did not have a sufficiently dense network of acquaintances, remained largely unfulfilled: the catholic church in Croatia is one of the main supporters of Croatian nationalism, and so even a letter of recommendation from the Istrian bishop could hardly convince the local priests to cooperate in a research about ethnicity, as they feared that any kind of 'ethnicity' would be incongruent with 'Croaticity'.

The last group who refused participation consisted of people living in real ethnic diaspora situations, most of them with little education. The reactions from this group are best illustrated by the case of an elderly lady in one of the few villages in central Istria where a local Venetian dialect is spoken[7] (all inhabitants also speak the surrounding Slavonic dialects and/or the Croatian standard). When I first visited this lady, I deliberately spoke Croat with considerable Romance interferences to indicate that she could switch to a Romance variety if she wanted. She continued to speak Croat, however, and only switched when I asked her if she would mind speaking Italian, as my Croat was rather poor. After having gained the impression that I was only a tourist, she told me that everyone in the village spoke Italian and even that they were feeling like Italians rather than like Croats. A week later I returned to her with a questionnaire; now she told me that her mother-tongue and ethnicity were Croatian and that she spoke Croatian to all her relatives and friends. I tried to remind her of what she had told me the week before, but she insisted on the second version of reality. After leaving her house I overheard the conversation of the old villagers in the street, and of course they were speaking an IV dialect.

This suspiciousness is an important factor to be reckoned with in researches of this kind: people who saw five different flags on their houses in the course of this century do not easily trust anyone with a questionnaire asking about attitudes and language use, especially in the countryside and under ethnic minority conditions.

In our context the question how to distinguish *language* and *dialect* is just an academic one, although some people consider the two particular endangered language varieties in Istria - IRO and IRU - to be languages, others class them as 'mere' dialects. IV, on the other hand, is defined by most people as a dialect, covered ('überdacht') by both Croatian and Italian, or by Slovene and Italian (depending on the state) in the bilingual municipalities. In regions like the Buje/Buie area, where still about one third of the population has IV as L1, IV cannot be considered as particularly endangered, as opposed to modern, larger towns like Pula/Pola or Poreč/Parenzo, where IV has lost its function as koinè. In the central regions the position of IV, as well as of IRO and IRU, is very weak. Due to the above mentioned dialect renaissance, the Slavonic dialects are hardly in danger now. But they show dialect convergence, i.e. a retreat of the local dialects and a development of regional dialects, a process that can also be observed for IV. As irradiation centres of linguistic prestige models the cities of Pula/Pola (for both IV and SL), Rijeka/Fiume (SL) and Trieste (IV) can be identified. The sociolinguistic 'problem' of the Slovene vernaculars is that Koper/Capodistria - having been italophone before World War II and now inhabited by an extremely heterogeneous population - cannot assume such a function: the local dialects are limited to the countryside.

It is quite difficult to tell the number of speakers for each idiom. With the following table I will try to approximate the reality[8] (see table 3 on next page).

The following part of my contribution shall be dedicated to the two endangered Romance languages in Istria: IRO and IRU. For decades linguists, often ideologically motivated, have been discussing ways to classify IRO linguistically: Italian linguists like Ive (1900) and Merlo (1907) subsumed it under Frioulian; Vidossi (see Scotti, 1981) and Kramer (1987, 98) even declared it as Italian; the Yugoslav glottologue Skok classified it as Dalmatian (1943); Deanović (1954) defined it as an 'autonomous idiom'. Thanks to Tekavčić (1967; 1976: 23) and others, we know today that none of these theories can be

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recent literature, and that local experts had told me they were negligible.

[7] e.g. Brkač/Berkaz or Draguć/Draguzzo.

[8] The numbers are in part taken from the 1991 census data. My estimations concerning L2 are based on information about numbers of pupils, my field experiences as a participating observer and the data from my questionnaires.

L2 doesn't mean "foreign language" in this context but "language of environment".

Function	Variety	L1-Speakers in Istria	L2-Speakers in Istria	Speakers outside Istria (L1 + L2)	endangered?
Standard	Slovene	about 30,000	about 45,000	about 2,300,000	very few functions in Italy and Croatia
Standard	Croatian	about 100,000	about 320,000	from 4,000,000 to 8,000,000 (Bosnian?)	very few functions in Italy and Slovenia
Standard	Italian	<100	about 100,000	about 55,000,000	very few functions outside the bilingual areas in Slovenia and Croatia
Non-Standard	Istrian Slavonic dialects in both Slovenia and Croatia (mostly Čakavian)	about 120,000	about 100,000	about 50,000	endangered in Italy and Slovenia; strong renaissance in Croatia
Non-Standard	Istrovenetian	about 25,000	about 80,000	about 150,000 (Venetian: about 3,000,000)	endangered in the big cities and in the monolingual areas of the countryside, were Istrovenetophones live in a diaspora-situation.
Non-Standard	Istroromance	about 400	about 400	about 500	linguistically and sociolinguistically strongly endangered (except at Valle/Bale)
Non-Standard	Istrorumene	about 300	about 100	about 1,000	linguistically and sociolinguistically strongly endangered
Non-Standard	Istro-Montenegrin	about 300	<50	<50 (Montenegrin about 600,000)	linguistically and sociolinguistically strongly endangered
Standard/ Non-Standard	Albanian	about 3,000	<50	about 5,700,000	endangered because of no function outside the families
Standard/ Non-Standard	Serbian	about 50,000	about 30,000	from 9,000,000 to 13,000,000 (Bosnian?)	endangered because of the very bad attitudes after the war in Croatia.
Standard/ Non-Standard	Macedonian	about 1,400	<50	about 1,800,000	linguistically and sociolinguistically strongly endangered

Table 3: Languages spoken in Istria and the number of their speakers

maintained[9]. Due to strong interference from IV (Tekavčić 1974) - as a consequence of close contact since the Middle Ages, which caused the sociolinguistic subordination of the only autochthonous Romance idiom of Istria under the Venetian prestige variety (Muljačić, 1991) - IRO might synchronically be classified as part of the IV continuum, but also shows influences of the surrounding Slavonic dialects (Tekavčić 1976: 234ff).

While in Pula/Pola and Vrsar/Orsera IRO has disappeared, leaving only slight traces in the local IV, IRO is still spoken at Rovinj/Rovigno, Bale/Valle, Vodnjan/Dignano, Galižana/Gallesano, Fažana/Fasana and Sišan/Sissano. According to Tekavčić (1972/73: 600f), the last two of the villages mentioned above show IRO in a more venetianised form, while the first two preserved more of the archaic characteristics of IRO. This partly correlates with the size of the linguistic communities. In Fažana/Fasana and Sišan/Sissano today only very few families speak the old dialect. For 1910 Rosamani (1975: 91) reports 20.000 IRO-speakers in total. Some decades later, Deanović still estimated 5000 IRO speakers (1954: 5), Cernecca (1975: 277) 'a few thousands', while Kramer (1987: 91) notes as many as 15.000 speakers[10]. These estimations, especially the latter, has to be considered as euphemistic: only at Bale/Valle the younger generation actively uses the old idioms, in Galižana/Gallesano they can be heard among the middle generation, while in all other places just very few elderly people speak IRO, with younger people often having difficulties to understand it. As a rule, speakers of IRO consider themselves as Italian, i.e. they never developed a kind of "IRO-ethnicity", which otherwise might increase these varieties' chances of survival. Almost all IRO-speakers use IV as their main variety, which is also their L1 or L2. IRO has no specific domains and is not written in every days life. In the six IRO villages live 3.754 declared Italians; even if every Italian in Bale/Valle (324) and every Italian over 65 years in the other localities spoke IRO - a rather optimistic assumption - the number of active IRO-speakers would not exceed 700[11].

Nowadays there is a large literary production in IRO which I would not hesitate to interpret as the folklorist expression in a dying language by the local elite (Delton, 1990; Orbanić & Musizza Orbanić, 1993; Glavinić, 1993). Almost all texts are written in the Rovignese variety, which thus developed into a sort of 'IRO-Kulturdialekt' (see Tekavčić, 1983; 1985; Cernecca,

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[9] The discussion, however, does not seem to be concluded yet: The new (and partially superficial) contributions in Holtus & Kramer (1987) are seriously rejected by Tekavčić (1988). Filipi (1993) develops the idea of a unique Frioulian-Istrian-Dalmatian idiom before the arrival of the Slaves who then separated this unity, overlooking, however, the evidence of linguistic variation even in ancient times. Maybe lesser used languages of the Alps-Adria region encourage ideological bias and controversy; compare the decades of discussion about the linguistic classification and the sociolinguistic status of Ladine as reported by Goebl (1990).

[10] As his source Kramer mentions M. Cortellazzo in: *Guida ai dialetti veneti*, 4. 49.

[11] Nobody did count them: It could be 500 or even 800, but certainly not 15.000 (also if one erroneously included IV speakers of Pula/Pola and Piran/Pirano, as Kramer did: the result would still only be about 6.000). If fascination for endangered languages leads to unrealistic estimations, the result is hardly helpful for the respective minority.

1973/74). As a spoken language, the idiom is dying under the pressure of IV and the standard languages. Apart from some relic words there remains a rich toponymic repertoire which is largely accepted by the new citizens of the localities (Radossi, 1989/90: 91f).

Thanks to the IRO poetry, the idiom will be conserved and will reach a high prestige while its status in everyday life will remain low. Probably at Bale/Valle it will be heard for another generation or two; however, there should be no doubt about its destiny as a spoken language which will be fulfilled in the next decades.

On first glance, the sociolinguistic situation of IRU is quite different: the speakers of IRU live at Žejane north of Učka mountain and in some very small villages on the other side of that mountain. There is no contact between the two groups, but speakers know about their respective existence (Dahmen, 1986: 248). Their idiom (subdivided into a northern and a southern variety) is the remnant of a language, which several centuries ago was spoken all over Istria by the transhumantly living Morlaks (Miklosich, 1882; Puşcariu, 1926; Du Nay, 1977). Istrian toponymy is rich of testimonies of their erstwhile much wider distribution[12]. Even as late as the middle of the 19th century Covaz (1846) still found the northern variety of IRU to be alive in the area around Žejane, namely at the somewhat larger village of Mune.

The IRU consider themselves as ethnically distinct from the surrounding čakavophone Istrians. They have retained several myths about their origin (Orbanić, 1995: 61) and call themselves today *Rumunjevi* or *Rumuni*, not *Rumeri* as in former times. This modern self-designation is derived from outside, probably coined by Romanian scholars who visited the area (Dahmen, 1986: 245). Istrorumenes do not feel as part of the Romanian nation, but they have been told about their connection with Romania again and again, as Romania seems to have had ideological reasons for supporting the small IRU ethnic awakening which took place in the early 20th century. While under Italian rule, the IRU did not have to share the gloomy destiny of Slovenes and Croats: the fascist minority-policy felt them to be Romance brothers and sisters, and build a Romanian school in Sušnjevica, the main village of southern IRU.

As there exists no intellectual or bourgeois elite among the IRU-speakers, their interest for ideological questions is rather low. The most radical criticism against the classification of IRU as a variety of Romanian is expressed by Milićević (1995) who doubts whether an IRU community really exists.

The complete number of IRU-speakers is all but clear. Even for the present century, the estimations differ dramatically: in 1904, Glavina counted 4850, Bartoli estimated 1644 about twenty years after; in 1961, Flora found 1140, Kovačec spoke of 1250-1500[13]. Schaller (1975: 82), erroneously identifying IRU with Vegliotic (probably because of the existence of an "IRU" community on the island of Krk/Veglia until the early 19th century) counted 1000. Filipi (1989), while noting that only 191 speakers had indicated IRU as their L1 in the 1981 census, still estimates a number of 1500 IRU-speakers (according to Tekavčić (1976)). The calculations of Musizza-Orbanić (1990/91: 7) - 500 - and of Orbanić (1995: 61) and Jahn (1995a) - both 400 - are more modest[14].

Considering themselves as ethnically different from the surrounding population does not cause them to consider themselves less as Croats than the inhabitants of the surrounding villages. In the 1991 census, 88,36% of the population at Žejane declared themselves as Croats, while in the villages of the southern group 50% declared themselves as "Istrians" and only 40% as Croats. (The self-declaration "Romanian" or similar did not occur.) The difference between the northern and southern subgroup is partly due to the fact that Žejane inhabitants have always visited a Croatian school since the last century, while the southern area saw a succession of Italian, Romanian and Croatian schools. Furthermore, because of the little distance to the city of Rijeka/Fiume, many inhabitants of Žejane work in the city, identifying more and more with the majority.

All IRU-speakers are plurilingual and speak a SL (approximating standard Croatian), IV and at Žejane sometimes also Slovene (Kovačec, 1992). Very rarely one can find people in the surrounding villages with a passive competence of IRU (Orbanić, 1995: 61). Neither of the two IRU-areas has a school with IRU as language of instruction, nor are there religious services held in IRU; there is almost no book written in IRU and the standard of living is very low (Orbanić, 1995: 57; Jahn, 1995a: 22). While the southern group consists of several largely depopulated villages[15], some of them far from streets, shops and pubs, Žejane seems to be a more or less compact and intact community[16]. Nevertheless, the age mean of the population in both groups is very high and there remain only few IRU-speakers in reproductive age. While many IRU-speakers express a wish for more support for their idiom, the L1 socialisation occurs mostly in SL and only later do children learn IRU, generally from their grandparents (Orbanić, 1995: 62ff). An elder lady at Žejane had told me that she spoke IRU to their grandchildren, but when these entered the room together with their mother, the grandmother spoke exclusively SL to them. Unfortunately, it is impossible to establish, if this was due to the presence of the mother, or to the presence of myself as a stranger (to whom she spoke IV), or if she simply would have liked to speak IRU to the children but actually never did.

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[12] One of the most telling examples is the very common place-name *Katun*; for exhaustive etymological discussion see Banfi (1985: 84f), Solta (1980: 46) and Lago (1969)

[13] This number is also reported by Dahmen (1986: 248).

[14] If areas outside Istria (in the USA and in Yugoslavian cities like Rijeka/Fiume) are included, the number of IRU-speakers is higher. In the USA they seem to be maintaining their linguistic peculiarity, while in Rijeka/Fiume, they are quickly assimilating, being bilingual from childhood.

[15] Many inhabitants emigrated during and after World War II, many others died in its course; there are villages where only one in ten houses is inhabited.

[16] Flora (1962: 146) illustrates the integrative power the IRU community at Žejane used to have by pointing out that in this village Roma have been ethnically and linguistically assimilated.

IRU, much like IRO, has never had any significant influence on the surrounding idioms or even the IV koinè, both being low-prestige languages (Kovačec, 1992: 159). Linguistically, IRU nowadays is a mixed language: more than one third of the basic lexicon is of Slavonic origin (Coţeanu, 1957: 25) and also elements of IV origin are numerous, for reasons explained above more in the southern than in the northern group (Flora, 1975; Kovačec, 1971). The morphosyntax, too, has been strongly affected by Slavonic patterns so that today it is perfectly possible to translate word by word from IRU into SL (Filipi, 1989: 78). Also under SL influence, IRU has developed a neuter gender and verb aspect (Petrovici, 1967; Kovačec, 1971; Solta, 1980). IRU does not belong to the Balkan linguistic union (nor does any other of the Istrian idioms).

If IRO-speakers identified themselves totally with IV-speakers, IRU-speakers, especially those of the southern group, often perceive an ethnic difference. Nevertheless, for social and demographic reasons, the future of the southern group seems more in danger than that of the IRU-community at Žejane, and as there is even less intellectual elite than in the case of IRO, only some sort of linguistic competition with their relatives of the IRU-community overseas seems to stimulate the people to maintain their particular idiom.

It is obvious that in both cases the introduction of IRO and IRU, respectively, in the kindergarten could help to postpone the language death, but several aspects stand in the way of such a development: on the one hand it is not at all sure that speakers of a low-prestige language would want their children to learn it; on the other hand it seems rather obvious that Croatia at this moment has other interests than to found kindergartens to save endangered languages, which not only is a loss of money but also could favour centrifugal tendencies.

If linguistic research, apart from a mere scientific interest, is also aimed at helping to maintain endangered languages, it first has to analyse the specific circumstances of endangered language communities. As shown above, it is not always easy for informants to gain confidence in the researcher: in these cases special attention has to be paid to the methods chosen; qualitative methods often lead to better results than quantitative ones, despite of their lack of representative significance.

Cooperation with minority organisations, provided that they exist, can be a great help, but in multiethnic contexts may also contain a risk: people get suspicious, if the researcher speaks to much to "the others". Contacts to minority organisations, governmental or religious institutions are important to get the necessary background information, but they should not play a role in the actual field-research and whenever possible, research should profit from private networks. For example, one major methodological advice I received had been that priests are in general good multiplicators in sociolinguistic field-research. The example I gave above shows that it is quite impossible to generalise such methods, as little as one can foresee the results one gains by applying them. My experience has taught me that a multimethodological approach minimises the risk of having chosen the wrong one. Team-working might be a possibility to reconcile these different approaches.

Just as complex are the following questions: how can one ensure that the results of such an investigation really find their way back into people's awareness? How can the gap between theory and everyday life be bridged and how can the objects of the research become the subjects of instruction? Or, in other words: is it possible that the results of linguistic investigation help to provide e.g. a kindergarten to IRU speakers, or can these results contribute to reduce the fear and shame of the above mentioned elderly lady in the IV-speaking village in central Istria and of many other people in similar circumstances?

For the results to be used in favour of subjective interests, they have to be as intersubjective and serious as possible. If analysing language policy towards minorities is important, the scientist should also play an active role in it, paying highest attention not to be offensive or ideologically biased. Contacts in the area under research are indispensable to guarantee that, through publications and symposiums, the results of the investigation can find their way out of the ivory tower of science into the communities. It will be impossible to convince everybody with your results; nevertheless it is necessary to find multiplicators *in loco* to diffuse them among the endangered minorities and the surrounding population, and to inform authorities of the findings (be it only to let them know that now others are aware of the situation as well).

Obviously, in the context of a conference lecture these questions can not be answered in depth. Therefore, I see the use of my contribution in establishing that the problems described above are not mere theoretical ones, but concrete questions emerging from fieldwork in an ethnically mixed area.

However, we should not forget that sociolinguistics alone cannot prevent language communities from dissolving or languages from dying: "Only to God and the linguist are all languages equal" (Andersson, 1989: 151).

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Competing Interpretations of History: What if they are Wrong?

J. Diego Quesada
University of Toronto

Abstract

This paper presents the problem arising from diverging views in terms of strategies to counter potential endangerment. The Teribes, a group of Chibchan affiliation from Panama, view their not having become extinct as the result of their monarchic structure and isolationist policy. The author interprets this event as the result of random circumstances and presents a series of arguments to back up this view. Given these opposing views and given the fact that the group considers that no one has the right to tell them what to do, the questions arises as to how to create awareness about the real danger created by the new trends in their society.

Introduction

The Teribes, a group of Chibchan affiliation, are distributed in two countries, Costa Rica and Panama. Most of them live in the latter country, in the basin of the Changuinola and Teribe rivers, in the province of Bocas del Toro, Northwestern Panama; 400 kilometers away, and separated by the Talamanca mountain range, in the South-Pacific region of Costa Rica, live nearly 500 descendants of them, known there as Térrabas. This split of the Teribe people (and language) dates from 1695, when, due to the apparently bellicose and indomitable character of the Teribes, the Spanish missionaries "relocated" a number of them to ease christianization; these were brought to Costa Rica, and were forced to live around other indigenous groups; after the relocation both groups lost contact. This incident marked a turning point in the history of the Teribe people, as the Térrabas were soon assimilated to the mainstream Costa Rican culture and a shift away from Térraba ensued, leading to the present state of only three elderly fluent speakers and half a dozen semi-speakers remaining. The language was preserved in Panama thanks to the relative isolation and almost complete lack of social integration of the group.
In the 1970's a "reencounter" took place, after which the two communities have established and intensified contact. Still, the general feeling is that "we are two peoples"; while the Térrabas have been almost totally assimilated, the Teribes have kept their language and have a sort of self-government (see below on this), led by a King. In general, the attitude of the Teribes toward the outer world is that of distrust. They attribute their "success" in keeping their language alive to that isolationist attitude.

There are two competing interpretations of the most recent history of the Teribes: the first one, defended by the Teribes, is that the survival of their language and culture till our day is the result of their self rule, monarchic structure, and isolationist policy. The second view, held by this author and other specialists (personal communications), regards that survival as the confluence of various factors over which the Teribes have had little or no control. According to this view, any change in the composition of those factors could prompt a rapid process of extinction. The Teribe King dismisses this view and boasts optimism; however, a series of aspects dealt with below will show that there are little grounds for optimism.

It is here where the role of the specialist becomes a double-edged blade. For on the one hand, these people tend to dismiss any sort of outside interference, but it is clear that their state of endangerment grows higher every time. The question emerges: Should the specialist stay away and let them decline on their own, or should s/he "interfere for their own sake"? There is a clear conflict of values here, and the solution is not easy. This paper does not attempt to provide an answer to that puzzling question; rather, it seeks to present the Teribe case as one of the many manifestations of endangerment.

A Peculiar View of Isolationism and the Interpretation of Events

The Teribes were among the most difficult groups to conquer; it took the Spaniards almost 130 years to finally subdue them; the turning point was precisely the separation and relocation of the Térrabas, who were apparently in favor of christianization (cf. Quesada, *in press*). Although the non-relocated Teribes eventually became Christian, their hostility toward anything Spanish remained; this might explain their alliances with the English pirates and the English-ruled Miskitos from Nicaragua, as well as their "conversion" to protestantism, and continuous wars with catholic Indians, the Talamancas, especially (cf. Quesada, *in press*, and citations therein). After English influence in the Atlantic coast of Central America ceased, the indigenous groups in that area fell under the rule and policies of the governments of the individual countries. As opposed to the indigenous groups of Costa Rica, which despite the unquestionable historical neglect by the Government do have access to the various means of dissemination of the mainstream culture (electricity, mass media, compulsory elementary education since the early XX Century, etc.), those of Panama still live in a marginal state in terms of integration into the mainstream. As a result, most groups in Panama are in a relatively lesser degree of endangerment than those in Costa Rica.

Although the Teribes are among the less numerous groups of Panama, their language as yet does not appear so seriously endangered, especially if one considers the situation across the border. The two main factors favoring this state of affairs are a. geographical isolation (Teribe is accessible only by river) and b. the 1968 constitutional law which guarantees autonomy of the Indian territories. The Teribes interpret these two facts as the result of their policy of isolation; in their view, their attitude of distrust and zealous defense of their values, language and culture has paid off; the Indian Autonomy Law is regarded as a sort of acknowledgment of that attitude. This view of things bears certain problems. First and foremost, their conception of isolation(ism) is more of a territory-patrolling practice than actual seclusion from the outer world; for the Teribes, isolation means having strict control and knowledge of each and every *siwa* ('non-Indian') arriving and visiting the reservation, what his/her purposes are, where and how long s/he is staying, and so on; whether institutional -with the exception of governmental missions- or individual, visitors must be granted permission by the King or a member of the governing council (*La dirección*). The idea is to avoid piracy of Indian wisdom (language, natural medicine, handicraft, unearthening of objects, etc.) The Teribes are greatly concerned with siwas' profiting from that. While valuable and useful, this concept and practice of isolation causes a shift in focus and a reconceptualization of concerns; more global and crucial aspects such as far-reaching language policies, increasing emigration, or their involvement in Panamanian politics are disregarded.

More important, the Teribes seem not to have realized that both geographic isolation and autonomy are feeble, having been rather random and casual aspects over which they have had absolutely no control. First, while the latter (and to a certain extent the former) fosters self rule, a key factor in preservation, the former is at the mercy of future infrastructural developments (roads, airports, and so on). Moreover, self rule is restricted to internal policies, and it is outweighed by national rule; for instance, the Teribes have no control over a crucial aspect such as teaching their language and culture and using the language for formal instruction in their elementary schools (there is no high school in the reservation); it is not part of the national curriculum; its inclusion depends on the Ministry of Education. Second, the 1968 Law was the result of a *Zeitgeist* in the late 60's and early 70's in Central America, when Indian reservations were given official status. And, as it happens in that region of the world, things just go the way they come; these reservations are not immune to the will and interests of the governments. Indeed, the previous ruler, a queen, was removed from power by the people because she yielded to governmental pressure to relinquish a sizable part of the reservation. This incident proves among other things, that self government is to a certain extent cosmetic (a way for politicians to get rid of annoying work), and, more significant, that autonomy does not imply or guarantee geographic integrity; in addition, it shows that at times autonomy can be disregarded. Third, even if the Indian Autonomy Law were observed, reservation status per se does not guarantee non-assimilation, as the case of the Térrabas in Costa Rica confirms. This little hermeneutic detail is the keystone in the future of the Teribes; for, as the remainder of this paper will show, several current developments and policies in the community build on the assumption that their idiosyncratic conception and practice of isolationism as well as their interpretation of history is the right one.

Unnoticed threatening trends

Population

The number of speakers of Teribe totals slightly more than 1,000 people; the largest group of speakers of a Chibchan language, Ngäbére or Guaymí, approximately 150,000 is from Panama, a country of barely 2.5 mil. Considering that the demographic growth of the indigenous groups of Panama in the last 100 years is a meager 1.7% -vs. whites 49%, blacks 69% and mixed 119%- (Médica 1974, 11), the Teribes not only constitute a minority, but also this growth trend does not look too promising for them. In addition, there is the non-negligible fact that whites and mixed settlers continue to establish themselves in neighboring areas. This creates a scenario where a minority group is every time more surrounded by speakers of majority languages, in this case Spanish and Guaymí; and though that in itself does not entail extinction, it does represent a potential threat, especially if intermarriages take place; that is precisely what has happened with the few marriages between Teribe women and Térraba men living in Costa Rica; the latter are monolingual speakers of Spanish and the language in those households is Spanish even in the absence of the father.

National politics

A dangerous trend is the increasing interest in national politics. It has come to the point where small rivalries arise because of adherence to one or another political party; this is dangerous not only because of a potential split of an otherwise united people but also because national politics entails an increasing use of Spanish (vocabulary, paraphrasing of politicians' discourse, etc.). Illustrative in this respect is the fact that as this paper is written, there is a political campaign going on in Teribe. A sort of pacific insurrection took place in May when a large group of people demanded that King César Santana resign; two general assemblies took place. People voted and the result favored the opposing aspirant, a nephew of the King (according to the Teribe tradition, the King's successor must be a relative of his). King César did not acknowledge those results and threatened with violence. The conflict could not be solved internally and it was necessary to call for governmental intervention. New, monitored elections have been scheduled for July 26, 1998. This incident has two main negative aspects; first, self rule is in crisis, and second, in my last recent visit I was told that the two main political parties of Panama are "behind" the two candidates. That being the case, the situation is alarming because it increases external influence, thereby compromising the sovereignty of the group.

Schooling

In Teribe there are elementary schools only; the first schools started in the mid 1970's. Aside from the negative fact that language and culture are not part of the curriculum, schooling in Spanish means that the only language that they know how to read and write is Spanish; the presence of literature (journals, textbooks, magazines and Bibles) written in Spanish in households is increasing. As a result, people tend to talk about what they read in the language in which they read it. A yet more critical issue is that native teachers talk to their pupils in Spanish not only during class time but also out of class. Clearly, there is the implicit message that Spanish is the language of authority and superiority. Negative attitudes could arise from that.

Religion

In the early 1950's, new protestant denominations appeared in Teribe. Religion became more prominent in the life of the people; obviously, the language of transmission was Spanish. Very often, the use of Spanish is higher than that of Teribe. Despite the presence of the Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) in the 1970's, interrupted at the end of that decade and recently restarted, there is no religious material written in Teribe accessible to the people (and if there were, most people would not able to read it).

Language policy

The Teribes are clear when it comes to their language policy: it is forbidden "to sell the language". However, their conception of what it is to sell the language is as idiosyncratic as that of isolationism. In principle, it is not permitted to teach the language to siwas because language can be a way of profit, so they say. A siwa can profit from the language by writing grammars, and collecting stories, publishing and selling them. Any individual linguist trying to work there has to get a permit from the King, who determines the conditions under which linguistic work is to be done. It is required from linguists that copies of any published work be given to the community. In the case of this author, the King suggested that as a retribution to my being allowed to work there, I should teach English to three or four persons chosen by him! That condition was waived this year in the context of the upcoming election; he wanted to show open mindedness. As for SIL, it was kicked out of Panama in the early 1980's. When it came back to Teribe, King César denied them entrance. However, in one of the eleven towns that make up the reservation, Druy, the community allowed them to stay there in clear defiance to the King. The challenging aspirant has expressed a more lenient language policy.

Several aspects are worth discussing in regards to this language policy. In the first place, although the phrase "it is forbidden to sell the language" does sound unequivocal, in practice it is not. Both my case and that of SIL evidence inconsistence enforcement of the policy. Second, this policy, which is consistent with the concept of isolationism qua patrolling, is not designed to actually protect the language from extinction. Language obsolescence begins from within, and it is inside the community -schooling in Spanish, illiteracy in Teribe, religion and politics-, not linguists or casual visitors, that the threat is growing. Finally, though meaningful, the requirement that copies of any published work be given to the community loses effectiveness given the lack of a more substantial language policy.

External contact

The last threatening aspect to be discussed is the growing contact with the outer world. The two main sources are the increasing tendency of the Teribes to send their kids to the Changuinola high school, and the continuous emigration of young men to the banana plantations. In the case of high school, the threat is bigger than that posed by elementary school, since the students have to stay out of the reservation, in most cases in a Spanish-speaking environment outside class time; sometimes, students quit high school but do not return to the reservation. The result is similar to that of migratory workers; in principle, these people go to the plantation during the week and come back for weekends and vacation time; however, in many cases the men take their family with them. All this constitutes a potential source of disintegration of the society as young generations leave their home.

When the last frontier crumbles

No doubt, difficulty of access and lack of electricity still play a critical role in the preservation of the Teribe language and culture. Despite the growing adoption of certain practices, and noticeable increase of the use of Spanish for social purposes such as religion and education, it is true that inside the reservation the language is healthy and that there is awareness that the language is a precious treasure. Still, the question remains, could the Teribes handle a rapid process of integration to the mainstream mestizo culture if it were to happen? Would isolation and language protection à la Teribe suffice in case of decreasing isolation (electrification, continuous exposure to the TV culture?). Their relatives in Térraba could not and the language is on the brink of extinction there. For now, non-imminent endangerment is taken by the Teribes as the clearest evidence that their policy works.

Is this the right path? Let the King speak

The competing interpretations of the history of the Teribes was the subject of a recent interview with King César Santana and one of his advisors. Some excerpts of that conversation follow.

-The Teribes are the least numerous of all indigenous groups in Panama; do you have a specific policy designed to counter the ever growing problem of extinction?

We are constantly watching our borders; we think that safeguarding the integrity of our territory is the mere warranty of survival. Within our borders we take care of our culture, our language, and traditions; in Térraba they have lost that because they never watched over it. This is why our main concern is to keep outsiders out of our territory; if we let them in, many negative things can happen. The clearest case is Térraba.

-There are schools already in the reservation. Would you be interested in high schools?

Right now we are asking the government to build one here. We do not want our kids to go to Changuinola; it is too far, some families simply cannot afford that.

-In your view, does the fact that language and culture are not taught in school not represent a problem?

All that is important. Recently the SIL came back to Panama; the first time they were here they had taught some people to read and write the language; the project failed, however. There was no systematic teaching, say workshops or the like. Maybe this time.

-What does the government do in this respect?

Nothing. We have inquired about that possibility.

-What can you tell me about the prohibition to "sell the language"?

The Teribe people are skeptical about teaching their language to non-Indians because most people come here with the aim of learning the language to go back and charge others for teaching it; they make profitable business that way. Whoever comes here with the aim of writing books has to provide us with copies of them. That is a way to preserve our language and traditions.

-Why did SIL leave?

I do not recall exactly what it was, but it seems that there were problems with the community. I have recently received a petition from SIL to allow them to come to Sieiyik [capital of Teribe, DQ]; they want to translate the New Testament into Teribe. The governing council has not met yet and permission has not been granted; I know that some are in favor and others are against it. Let us wait until the project is discussed. If permission is granted, some conditions will be imposed on them. Whoever comes here has to recognize our authority and has to clearly state his purposes. People become really uneasy when strangers suddenly appear and no one knows who they are, what they are after, and so on. In those cases they come directly to us the authorities to inquire about them.

-Do you think that is the most appropriate way to protect your language and culture?

Absolutely. Look at the Térrabas; they allowed everyone in their community and now they have lost the language. Many others left and never went back; they want to live in cities, drive cars, etc. That is dangerous. That is not the case here.

-There have been talks about the possibility of a road linking Changuinola and Teribe; do you not fear that the end of geographic isolation could prompt a process of extinction or language death? Are you ready for one such event?

I do not think a road or highway can pose a major threat to our culture. We know our people. We were once on the verge of extinction, prior to the 1968 Indian Autonomy Law. Ever since there has been growing awareness about the need to identify ourselves with our language and culture, and our social structure. A highway would represent a positive development because it would allow us to put projects into practice.

-How do you picture the Teribe people, language and culture in the new century?
There will be lots of technology, and though there is some danger in that, it is up to us to know how to handle that correctly. As long as our autonomy and our authority is respected there is no fear. We are not endangered.

-What makes you be so optimistic?
Because we know we are creatures of God and God has not created us to be destroyed by others. Let's face it: if we have not been exterminated along these 500 years, under worse conditions, extinction at present is highly unlikely. The Indian Autonomy Law is a written document. The same is true about the language.

Conclusion

The Teribes have been historically isolated both geographicallly and socially. Undoubtedly, this contributed to their survival despite their relatively low number. At present, with increasing contact with the outer world, the use of Spanish is growing; endangerment becomes more real. This makes it necessary to start far-reaching language and culture maintenance policies. Unfortunately, the Teribes rely exclusively on their recently legalized self rule and monarchic structure as the way to survival, thereby dismissing potential dangers. They think, in addition, that no one has the right to tell them what to do in terms of language and culture preservation. Given this situation, it is necessary to devise ways to create awareness about the potential dangers without disregarding their authority. Although that solution is straightforward, implementing it is not because it challenges a well-established (though not necessarily well-founded) view of things, and that runs counter to the principles of ethnic and language preservation.

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Minority Languages in a Society in Turmoil: the Case of the Northern Languages of the Russian Federation

Tapani Salminen
Department of Finno-Ugrian Studies
P.O. Box 25, 00014 University of Helsinki, Finland
[tasalmin@cc.helsinki.fi]

Abstract

The minority language communities in the Russian Federation, despite their vast geographical and socio-economic differences, share a similar historical background and political framework as marginal elements in this huge but highly centralized state, where the supremacy of the Russian culture and the dominance of the Russian language have led to a gradual but definitive erosion of minority cultures and languages.

With the exceptions of Caucasia and the Pacific coast area, the study of the minority peoples and languages of the Russian Federation has no long traditions in English-speaking countries. Consequently, the ethnolinguistic situation of the Russian Federation as a whole is still poorly known especially among those linguists who do not follow publications in a language other than English. The following presentation will therefore include quite a lot of background information and not that many practical suggestions for concrete actions. Sharing data and creating networks between interested parties is, however, in itself one of the potentially most effective ways of improving the chances of survival of the indigenous languages and cultures of the world in danger of disappearing.

Pseudo-Statistical Calculations

Without any claim of statistical accuracy, it may be estimated that 99 per cent of the world's ethnolinguistic or, more broadly speaking, cultural diversity is represented by one per cent of the world's population. This tiny minority of mankind includes the so-called indigenous peoples of the world, also known as the fourth world. The rest of us, the vast majority, are more or less integrated in a single form of culture, often referred to as 'Western Culture', which may be an apt name if we think of its origins but, since this culture now encompasses most areas of the world and the Far East in particular, it seems more appropriate to choose another name for it, the most obvious choice being the 'mass culture'. It is true that in Africa and parts of Asia there are still areas where this one global culture has not yet become dominant, but usually only peoples who try to survive and retain their original culture in the vicinity of the centres of the mass culture are called indigenous. This paper is devoted to the languages of the indigenous peoples who happen to live in a state which in many ways embodies the destructive elements inherent in the mass culture. During this century, this state has been known as the Russian Empire, the Soviet Union, and the Russian Federation.

Another not so exact estimate would be that 99 per cent of the world's languages are being studied by one per cent of the world's linguists. A startling disproportion like that may not be too far from truth, taking into account the vast volume of literature devoted to the world's top sixty languages and comparing it to the rather narrow coverage of the other six thousand or so. Here opens one of the most obvious ways for linguists interested in the fate of endangered languages to act: many of us are in a position which makes it possible to modify linguistic programmes, mobilize fellow linguists, recruit new talents or, at the very least, propagate relevant knowledge so that more people will get interested and involved in the study of poorly known languages. If linguistic diversity is truly felt important among linguists then it should not be an overwhelming task to convince them of the necessity of reorganizing resources.

Indigenous Peoples in the Russian Federation

The exploration and conquest of Siberia is in many ways reminiscent of similar events in the Americas and elsewhere in the world when technologically advanced but morally backward intruders have subjugated aboriginal nations. In Siberia, however, this process was gradual and the collision between the invaders and the indigenous population generally less violent. There were many tragic exceptions though; the occupation of the Itelmen lands, for instance, caused a lot of bloodshed. A very useful treatment of the history of the so-called Peoples of the Far North both in English and Russian appears in Vahtin (1992, 1993) and need not be repeated here in any detail; Zibarev (1990) deals with the pre-Soviet legislation concerning the Peoples of the Far North. The main turning points in this century were the collectivization of land and persecution of true and alleged dissidents, including political and religious leaders of minority peoples, in the 1930s; the school reform which largely eliminated tuition in minority languages in the late 1950s; and the liquidation of the so-called perspectiveless villages causing extreme havoc among minority communities in the 1960s. Through to the present time children were concentrated in boarding schools which effectively alienated them from their native language and culture. The influx of Russian-speaking colonizers has multipled several times over during the Soviet era, making indigenous people in most areas a marginal group of social outcasts, with exceedingly high suicide and alcoholism rates, especially by destroying the natural environment to the extent that traditional means of livelihood have become unmaintainable. Insightful accounts of language ecology in Siberia are given by Janhunen (1991) and Helimski (1997).

By the 1980s the peoples of the Soviet Union had officially transformed into a single socialist nation whose language and culture were, and this went without saying, Russian. It was seen as an integral part of the ideology that national minorities had to be absorbed into the standard Soviet, that is Russian, society, and the sooner this took place the better it would be to everyone. The main value of the national minorities was seen in folkloristic performances which were artificially manipulated or even created to fit a given pattern. Native and Russian scholars studied the minority languages and cultures actively but they were not allowed to criticize or even question the existing policies that affected them, as witnessed by the standard Soviet rhetoric in articles published several years after the beginning of perestroika and glasnost (Collis, 1990). When the Soviet system began to collapse and open discussion on such sensitive issues became possible, native specialists seemed genuinely surprised to recognize the magnitude of assimilation and acculturation evident in indigenous communities by then.

The single clear consequence of the sudden changes in the political and economic life in the Russian Federation since the mid-1980s has been that most people, irrespective of their nationality, have become poorer while a few have become very rich. In the short term, the economic crisis has had at least one positive effect on the indigenous communities: people there were forced as well as allowed to start practicing traditional professions again because, in the absence of any social security system, there was no other way to make a living, and because the Russian control over their lands was temporarily lifted. In the long term, however, the newly-adopted wild capitalism means that the indigenous communities will lose their traditional lands permanently. The present legislation allows the authorities to deal with land ownership high-handedly and although there exist beautiful declarations on the rights of indigenous peoples both internationally and within the Russian Federation (Kryazhkov, 1994), their implementation is regularly blocked by strong political opposition, both in the Russian parliament and in the presidential administration (Murashko, 1996). Obviously, there is a lot of money at stake in the indigenous lands rich with oil, gas, minerals and forest, and corrupted officials both on federal and local levels are more than eager to hand over the rights of the indigenous peoples, increasingly to foreign companies.

The future of the indigenous languages of the Russian Federation is fundamentally intertwined with the fate of the native cultures and their natural environment. The tragedy of these peoples is that they would have survived and, in their own way prospered, if they had simply been left alone, but for ideological reasons in the past and for economic profit today, they remain heavily subjugated and their homelands have suffered catastrophic ecological destruction. Consequently, they often live in extreme poverty without rights to their land or role in making decisions about their future.

The Languages of the Russian Federation Today

Almost all of the languages spoken in the Russian Federation are endangered, most of them seriously, but the indigenous languages of Arctic Russia and Siberia with a few thousand speakers or less, face the most immediate threat. Only a few years ago the main problem with language endangerment was seen in the loss of linguistically interesting data rather than that the loss of irretrievable human diversity and potential. Kibrik (1991), for instance, only includes languages that are already on the verge of extinction. Even the Red Book of the Languages of the Peoples of Russia (Neroznak, 1994), which is by far the most detailed and reliable source for further information, mechanically excludes languages of the titular peoples of republics and autonomous provinces even when they, like for instance Karelian, are undoubtedly endangered; for similar reasons its coverage of languages is sometimes unequal: the three Northern Altai idioms are given separate entries, while Olonetsian and Ludian, officially regarded as Karelian dialects, are left out, although they are likely to be more diverse and at least as endangered. The languages of the larger minority peoples are covered by Solncev & Mikhalchenko (1992).

In what follows, the languages of European Russia and Caucasia are dealt with briefly, and the situation of the indigenous languages of Siberia and Arctic Russia is presented in more detail. The degree of endangerment is evaluated along the scale "not endangered – endangered – seriously endangered – nearly extinct – extinct", which broadly corresponds to the basic viability classes in Krauss (1997), who also deals with most though not all of the Siberian languages.

The number of minority languages whose principal area has traditionally lain within the borders of the Russian Federation is, according to the present count, 110; this figure does not include the majority language Russian nor non-territorial minority languages like Romani and Yiddish; also excluded are dialects of major languages of neighbouring countries though some of them will be mentioned below. The number of officially recognized minority languages is a bit lower, because in a few cases, notably Altai, Enets, Karelian, Khanty, Mansi, Mari, Nenets, Sámi, Selkup, Tat, Yukagir, and Yupik, idioms traditionally regarded as major dialects are, for compelling reasons, treated here as separate languages.

In the Northwest of Russia there are six languages belonging to the Finnic branch of the Finno-Ugrian family: *Ingrian*, *Karelian*, *Ludian*, *Olonetsian*, *Vepsian*, and *Votian*. Of these Votian is nearly extinct, Ingrian is either seriously endangered or nearly extinct, and the rest are seriously endangered. Distinct, and endangered, dialects of Estonian and Finnish are also spoken in the area.

In east-central Russia, in an area which ranges from the Volga to the Urals, ten minority languages are spoken: *Bashkir* (Turkic: Kipchak), *Chuvash* (Turkic), *Erzya* (FU [Finno-Ugrian]: Mordvin), *Komi* (FU: Permian: Komi), *Eastern Mari* (FU: Mari), *Western Mari* (FU: Mari), *Moksha* (FU: Mordvin), *Permyak* (FU: Permian: Komi), *Tatar* (Turkic: Kipchak), and *Udmurt* (FU: Permian). Tatar is spoken by several million people and cannot be regarded as endangered in spite of its subordinate status in comparison with Russian. The others also have substantial numbers of speakers, in most cases a few hundred thousand, but because of gradual urbanization and consequent assimilation, processes aptly characterized as the "erosive trends" by Lallukka (1990), the number of younger speakers is decreasing rapidly, which makes them clearly though not seriously endangered.

Northern Caucasia and adjacent southern Russia is home to 35 languages: 4 Abkhaz-Adyge languages (*Abkhaz* including Abaza, *Adyge*, *Kabardian-Cherkes*, *Ubykh*), 2 Nakh languages (*Chechen*, *Ingush*), 22 Dagestanian languages (*Agul*, *Akhvakh*, *Andi*, *Archi*, *Avar*, *Bagulal*, *Bezhta*, *Botlikh*, *Chamalal*, *Dargva*, *Ginukh*, *Godoberi*, *Gunzib*, *Karata*, *Khvarshi*, *Lak*, *Lezgian*, *Rutul*, *Tabasaran*, *Tindi*, *Tsakhur*, *Tsez*), 3 Iranian languages (*Ossetic*, *Tat*, *Judeo-Tat*), 3 Turkic languages belonging to the Kipchak branch (*Karachai-Balkar*, *Kumyk*, *Nogai*), and the Mongol language *Kalmyk*, whose speakers settled in the area in the 18th century. As a result of another immigration, a dialect of Turkmen known as Trukhmen is also spoken in Northern Caucasia, and German dialects were spoken for centuries in the lower Volga basin. On the other hand, the Ubykh nation as a whole emigrated to the Ottoman Empire when their homeland was annexed to Russia. Many languages of the area suffered severely from the mass deportations of whole nations in the aftermath of the Second World War though all except the Volga Germans were allowed to return to their homes after a decade in exile. In general, however, minority languages are much better preserved in Caucasia than in other parts of the Russian Federation. Chechen is in most respects like the official language of an independent country, but the other major languages of the area, spoken by proud Islamic nations, are also used vigorously. On the other hand, most of the Dagestanian languages (all but Avar, Dargva, Lak, Lezgian, and Tabasaran) are spoken by small ethnic groups which are not even officially recognized as separate peoples but lumped together with Avars or Lezgians. These 17 languages are included in the Red Book of the Languages of the Peoples of Russia (Neroznak, 1994), but despite their low numbers of speakers, at least most of them appear to be in no immediate danger of disappearing.

Finally, the number of the indigenous languages of Siberia and Arctic Russia is 59. This figure does not include the Siberian dialects of Tatar, mentioned above, although at least one of them, that of Baraba, is both very distinct and endangered, nor languages whose principal area lies outside the Russian Federation and which have ceased to be spoken there, notably Ainu, Dagur, Inuit, Khamnigan Mongol, and North Sámi.

There exists a political division between the titular peoples of republics and autonomous provinces (Southern Altai, Buryat, Khakas, Tuva, and Yakut), and the so-called Peoples of the Far North (all others). The obvious fact that the languages of the peoples of the first group are much less endangered than the others is not in itself a consequence of this division but both facts follow from the differences in numeric strength and relative political power between the two groups.

The one and only Siberian language that certainly need not be regarded as endangered is *Tuva* (including Toja; Turkic: N: Tuva), with 200,000 speakers including all generations. The independent state of Tannu-Tuva was forcibly annexed to the Soviet Union in 1944, but the Tuva people have not ceased to cultivate their language and culture vigorously, despite the loss of political autonomy.

The second best situation is that of *Yakut* (including Dolgan; Turkic: N), with as many as 350,000 speakers, though urbanization and consequent Russianization have affected a notable part of younger generations. Yakut can therefore be characterized as a potentially endangered language. Mainly because of a divide and rule policy of the Russians, the northernmost Yakut-speaking group known as the Dolgans is officially regarded as one of the Peoples of the Far North and distinct from Yakuts proper; the 5,000 Dolgan speakers use their language, a dialect fairly close to other Yakut dialects, almost as vigorously as the rest of the Yakut speakers.

The three other languages of the titular peoples of republics and autonomous provinces are *Southern Altai* (including Telengit and Teleut; Turkic: N) with 50,000, *Buryat* (Mongol) with 350,000, and *Khakas* (Turkic: N: Khakas) with 60,000 speakers. Their areas have suffered a lot of recent industrialization and urbanization and their active use is nowadays more and more restricted to remote rural communities, from where many younger people have had to emigrate. They must therefore be regarded as endangered but, thanks to the relatively large numbers of speakers, not seriously endangered, though some of their dialects may fall into the latter category.

Only two of the languages of the Peoples of the Far North have a substantial number of young speakers: *Chukchee* (CK [Chukchee-Koryak]), with 10,000, and *Tundra Nenets* (FU: Samoyed: Nenets), with 25,000 speakers. The peoples in question are notably the most prominent reindeer breeding nations in the Russian Federation, and it is this line of occupation which, unlike all others, has retained its function among the indigenous peoples and largely remained in their hands. However, even among the Chukchee and the Tundra Nenets there are many communities where the situation is not so fortunate, which means that it is best to characterize them as either endangered or seriously endangered. Tundra Nenets used to have a very strong position in the heartlands in the Yamal Peninsula but this has drastically changed in recent times when gas excavations have led to an unprecedented destruction of pasture lands. More data on the situration of Tundra Nenets and other indigenous languages of north-western Siberia are available in Salminen (1997).

There are eleven languages most speakers of which are middle-aged and older, though in the most remote and isolated corners of their territory some children still learn them. Although the number of speakers range from one thousand up to ten thousand, it is clear that all of them must be regarded as seriously endangered: *Northern Altai* (a conglomeration of Chalkan, Kumandy, and Tuba; Turkic: N: Khakas), *Even* (Tungus: N), *Evenki* (Tungus: N), *Eastern Khanty* (FU: Khanty), *Northern Khanty* (FU: Khanty), *Koryak* (including Alyutor; CK), *Northern Mansi* (FU: Mansi), *Nanai* (Tungus: Amur), *Forest Nenets* (FU: Samoyed: Nenets), *Northern Selkup* (FU: Samoyed: Selkup), and *Shor* (Turkic: N: Khakas).

There are further eight languages whose speakers are mainly middle-aged and older and whose overall number of speakers is so low, from two hundred to one thousand, that it is reasonable to treat them as an intermediate group whose members can be seen as very seriously endangered: *Chulym* (Turkic: N: Khakas), *Ket* (Yeniseian: N), *Nganasan* (FU: Samoyed), *Nivkh* (Nivkh), *Kildin Sámi* (FU: Sámi), *Tofa* (including Soyot; Turkic: N: Tuva), *Ulcha* (Tungus: Amur), and *Central Siberian* (*Chaplino*) *Yupik* (EA [Eskimo-Aleut]: Eskimo: Yupik).

The largest group consists of 17 languages, only spoken by the oldest generation, usually having some tens of speakers left, which makes them nearly extinct: *Aleut* (EA; Siberian Aleut derives from a 19th century resettlement; there is also a Russian-Aleut mixed language known as Copper Island Aleut), *Forest Enets* (FU: Samoyed: Enets), *Tundra Enets* (FU: Samoyed: Enets), *Western Itelmen* (Itelmen), *Eastern Mansi* (FU: Mansi), *Negidal* (Tungus: N), *Oroch* (Tungus: Amur), *Orok* (Tungus: Amur), *Akkala* (*Babino*) *Sámi* (FU: Sámi), *Skolt Sámi* (FU: Sámi), *Ter Sámi* (FU: Sámi), *Central Selkup* (FU: Samoyed: Selkup), *Southern Selkup* (FU: Samoyed: Selkup), *Udege* (Tungus: Amur), *Forest Yukagir* (Yukagir), *Tundra Yukagir* (Yukagir), and *East Cape* (*Naukan*) *Yupik* (EA: Eskimo: Yupik).

Five languages, *Kerek* (CK), *Southern Khanty* (FU: Khanty), *Western Mansi* (FU: Mansi), *Sirenik* (EA: Eskimo: Yupik), and *Yug* (Yeniseian: N), have either recently become extinct or have very few speakers left.

Two languages, *Kamas* (FU: Samoyed) and *Southern Mansi* (FU: Mansi), have definitely become extinct during this century. There are relatively extensive and reliable records of them, though naturally far from the extent one would desire.

Nine languages became extinct before the 20th century, and the material we have of them is scanty: *Arin* (Yeniseian: S), *Chuvan* (Yukagir), *Eastern Itelmen* (Itelmen), *Southern Itelmen* (Itelmen), *Kott* (Yeniseian: S), *Mator* (FU: Samoyed), *Omok* (Yukagir), *Pumpokol* (Yeniseian: N), and *Yurats* (FU: Samoyed). In recent statistics a people called Chuvans has reappeared, but the given figures for native language speakers refer to those ethnic Chuvans whose first language is Chukchee. A large Russian-speaking but ethnically distinct group of people with Itelmen ancestry are nowadays known as Kamchadals, an old name for Itelmens proper.

Of the languages listed above, at least Aleut, Buryat, Evenki, Nanai, Skolt Sámi, Tofa, Tuva, and Central Siberian Yupik are also spoken in neighbouring countries, in most cases more vigorously than in the Russian Federation. The situation of Evenki in China and Central Siberian Yupik in the United States, in particular, is much less critical.

Indigenous Languages and Language Specialists

Despite the sad picture presented above, the indigenous languages of Arctic Russia and Siberia are still generally more viable than the languages of comparable communities in the Americas or Australia. The key question is how the Peoples of the Far North could maintain what is left of their integrity in the rapidly changing, often chaotic society with no traditions of democracy, freedom of expression or independent popular movements. To reach a stable coexistence with the majority culture, they need to make their voice heard and their rights guaranteed, and it seems that without the assistance of non-native specialists and activists they have little chance to do that. Foreign specialists in particular are responsible for spreading information about the minority communities, their cultures and their languages to the world as well as forwarding feedback to the communities and providing them with means to fight back the onslaughts of the majority culture. The mere existence of devoted foreign specialists can promote the cause of indigenous languages and cultures, and the material help provided by foreigners may occasionally prove indispensable.

From a narrow linguistic point of view it could be said that the languages of the Russian Federation are relatively well studied, at least when compared with most languages of the world. However, while there exist impressive bodies of data, they are often unavailable to or simply unused by linguists other than devoted specialists. Even within the Russian Federation general linguists tend to overlook the multitude of material provided by minority languages and find their inspiration in the tradition of Russian and Slavonic linguistics instead; such a division between theoreticians and field specialists is, of course, well known from other parts of the world.

A confrontation of another type, typical of the Russian Federation, appears among the language specialists themselves. One of the achievements of the early Soviet regime was the creation of the so-called national cadres from amongst members of minority communities, including people who would start studying their native languages. These people were naturally in an advantageous position compared with Russian-speaking linguists who, on the other hand, were generally better trained in linguistic theory. Occasionally it was seen that fruitful cooperation on an equal basis evolved but often native scholars were given a subordinate status in the academic world and the relations between native and Russian speakers became strained. The main concern of the native scholars was usually the development of literary standards for those languages which had had none before, and later on the preparation of school primers, which were actually little used in schools but could be used by the Soviet authorities to create an illusion that indigenous languages were alive and well in the Soviet Union.

From the 1930s to the late 1980s almost all areas of the Soviet Union were hermetically closed to foreigners. There was therefore practically no interaction between indigenous peoples and foreign specialists interested in these languages and cultures, and even the contacts of Soviet scholars abroad were severely restricted. This was suddenly changed during the so-called perestroika policy and, although the Russian Federation is still one of the most difficult areas for foreign travellers, it is nowadays possible, at least in principle if not always in practice, to visit even the remotest parts of the country. Even more importantly, Russian citizens are now quite free to travel abroad and specialists of indigenous languages and cultures, including native scholars and activists, have used this newly-opened possibility frequently. This is actually where it has stopped now. Thus while there are various intensive contacts between interested individuals, there is no functioning network that would allow them to create contacts and share information on a broader basis, not to speak of a united front for the maintenance of minority languages and cultures, something that would be badly and urgently needed in the present chaotic situation.

Creating unity among people involved in the fight for indigenous languages and cultures is not an easy task though. Like people everywhere, communities themselves are often divided and individuals seek personal rather than common good; native specialists may be sponsored by certain quarters who only want to exploit their community; domestic specialists occasionally adopt a patronizing attitude towards indigenous people; and foreign specialists can be utterly naive in pursuing their studies. As a first step, fruitful cooperation requires that the outsiders internalize the world-view of the native people they are working with, which is, of course, more easily said than done, but if that is not achieved, specialists tend to know what is best for the people better than the people themselves. As we have seen, the patterns of interaction between indigenous peoples and specialists have changed drastically during the 20th century and not infrequently certain tensions have appeared. A dialogue between the interested parties is therefore an absolute necessity, and it should involve not only linguists but also ethnologists, sociologists, legal scholars, environmental and political scientists.

The Moral of the Story

There are far too many people on this planet, the large majority of them are much too similar to each other, and their way of life is fatally destructive to all life-forms on earth. Without romanticizing or idealizing the indigenous cultures, it is clear that they are superior to the mass culture because their members retain the capability of living in at least relative harmony with the natural environment. From this viewpoint, a language can and needs to be preserved only when it functions as an expression of a culture which contrasts with the majority culture. In practice, however, the loss of linguistic and cultural identity go hand in hand, which means that strengthening the position of the language of an indigenous community remains one of the key factors in trying to secure the community's long-time survival.

The idea that indigenous cultures are priceless because they provide an alternative to the modern global culture should make perfect sense to people devoted to the cause of endangered languages and cultures, but it is perhaps not a very tempting argument to the general public. In any case it would be foolish to assume that large masses of people in the so-called civilized world would ever get seriously interested in the fate of minority peoples, especially if their lifestyle differs markedly from their own and if they, as they should, have control over the natural resources of their homelands. Even more futile would be a hope that official international organizations could be of any essential help to peoples who lack political power. On the contrary, it is in the interest of world leaders to suppress human diversity to a minimum and to make mankind as controllable as possible. It remains therefore the task of individual activists and their networks, including both indigenous people themselves and well-informed outsiders, to fight for the indigenous rights.

While the diversity exhibited by indigenous peoples is important as such, and constitutes a vital resource for the whole mankind, such values derive essentially from an outsider's perspective. From the point of view of each indigenous community it is a question of the right of its members to live together as a unique and sovereign people. Nothing can "be saved" by outsiders, but there should be no doubt that the indigenous peoples do want to save their languages and cultures on their own initiative if they are given a chance. There is nothing wrong with bi- or multilingualism and bi- or multiculturalism nor with literacy and formal education as such if they develop in terms of the indigenous peoples themselves (Shoji, 1997). Unfortunately, most peoples of the world have absolutely no real choice whether to preserve or lose their language and culture, which means that outsiders may have a crucial role in giving people at least a chance to think about it. In our chaotic world even a small change may have far-fetched effects and making such small changes is really our only hope.

In Siberia even those peoples whose languages are seriously endangered are not in an entirely hopeless situation, but it is a question of a fight against time and in most cases there is preciously little time left. There will be neither time, money nor capacity for establishing complex language immersion programmes known from other parts of the world. This is perhaps not a major drawback, because ultimately all depends on the will-power of the people and their right to exercise it rather than any concrete means. The role of linguists is, nevertheless, of utmost importance, though perhaps in a less direct way than is usually thought: it may sound a bit arrogant, but linguists tend to be among the best specialists among those who work with indigenous communities. Ethnologists, sociologists and other specialists may be able to carry out extremely important and interesting work, but if they do not know the language of their target community their results are bound to remain biased or superficial. Linguists, on the other hand, cannot really pretend to do serious work if they ignore cultural and environmental aspects of the community whose language they study. Since one person, even a linguist, never masters all or even most relevant fields, specialists obviously must cooperate to make any headway. In the case of the Peoples of the Far North, living in remote and until recently inaccessible parts of the Russian Federation, the need of more extensive cooperation between the indigenous peoples themselves and native, Russian and foreign specialists cannot be emphasized too strongly.

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Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality
Case Study of Two Languages: Labu and Vanimo

M. Lynn Landweer
Summer Institute of Linguistics
Box 85, Ukarumpa, E.H.P., 444, Papua New Guinea
[lynn_landweer@sil.org]

Abstract

Papua New Guinea is a land of contrasts In a landmass of 462,000 km^2, rugged mountains contrast themselves with fertile valleys, and great flood plains. Flora varies from high altitude lichens on the slopes of Mt. Wilhelm (4,509 meters) to sea level vegetation typical of a tropical paradise. In this environment live about 4,000,000 people as diverse as the land they populate. They trace from at least two genetic heritages, and are separated into 830 distinct language and cultural groups. They make their livelihood harvesting from the sea; along incredible rivers; and from an environmental ecology that is so rich that you can literally stick a branch of a tree in the ground and it will take root and grow.

This paper presents to you two Papua New Guinean speech communities. They are similar in population, history, geography, and education, but language usage is markedly different: Labu is "endangered" and Vanimo is "vital."

Eight indicators of ethnolinguistic are used to profile these speech communities and document characteristics that result in such dissimilar outcomes. As such, this paper demonstrates that language maintenance and shift are long term consequences of consistent patterns of language choice throughout the speech community.

Introduction

I came to Papua New Guinea in January 1986 to begin work with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. The organizational purpose of SIL is to serve indigenous people groups who are speakers of unwritten languages. Teams of SIL linguists go to live among speech communities to document the vernacular language and in conjunction with local speakers they develop an orthography, a body of literature including primers and translated materials, and facilitate literacy in that local language – a task that takes upwards of 20 years. Linguistic work and subsequent orthographic, literature, and literacy programs has been undertaken in 277 speech communities in Papua New Guinea to date by SIL. Similar work has also been undertaken in an additional 113 languages by other agencies[1], but much work remains.

My task in particular is to assess and document relative ethnolinguistic strength of those speech communities requesting SIL language development programs. To do this I have relied on sociolinguistic indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality (found in sociolinguistic literature and developed through experience serving in-country). I go, live among, and interact with the people at the village level, listening to what they say about their language; and observing and documenting their language use. It is a task known as sociolinguistic survey. It was within the jurisdiction of these surveys that I came to work briefly among the Labu and Vanimo people groups, in 1988 and 1989 respectively.

Vanimo and Labu share remarkable similarities, but diverse ethnolinguistic outcomes. It is the purpose of this paper to document and discuss these distinctives in view of sociolinguistic indicators of ethnolinguistic strength and expatriate contact and intervention.

Community Profiles

Labu

The Labu speech community consists of approximately 1600 people in three densely inhabited villages. They are, from north to south, Labu-butu (800), Labu-miti (500) and Labu-tali (300). There is a fourth settlement of approximately 50 people reported to be located at the Markham bridge. The majority of this ethnic group is located south of the city of Lae, (pop. 85,000) the second largest commercial port in Papua New Guinea. Geographically, the Labu speech communities are bounded on the north by the mouth of the Markham River, across which sits the city of Lae, Sugarloaf mountain to the south, to the west by a swamp, and to the east by the Solomon sea. The Labu were not always located on this narrow strip of land. The survey team was told that "taim bipo bipo", i.e. historically, they had lived in the Markham valley to the west, but the Lae Wampar (Wagner & Reiner, 1986) people had driven them out. As a result they fled to their current site between a swamp and the sea. Contact with other groups was not limited to indigenous peoples. From 1885 onward German expatriates came to develop commercial enterprises and missionize the people of the Huon Peninsula. The Neuguinea Kompagnie began its commercial operations from Finschhafen in that year. A year later, Neuendettelsau missionaries, beginning with Johann Flierl worked their way west from the Simbang mission station near Finschhafen and north from the Malalo mission station to include the Labu people by 1909 (Wagner & Reiner, 1986).

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[1] Statistics as of June 1997 collected by the Sociolingiustics and Survey office, Technical Studies Department, SILPNG.

Early on J. Flierl and his associates made attempts to distinguish themselves from other whites, particularly those associated with the administration of the Neuguinea Kompagnie. However, the indigenous people found the distinction difficult to understand. (Whittaker, et al, 1975) Indeed the distinction would have been difficult. Not only did both expatriate groups require land of the indigenous people, but there were cordial relations between the mission and the de facto government lead by "kompagnie" administration. The Neuguinea Kompagnie gave material assistance to the missionaries, and the missionaries helped the "kompagnie" by educating the local population through religious instruction. Thus it seemed each expatriate group relied on the other to help meet their separate but complimentary ends of pacification, education, and enterprise. (Sack & Clark, 1978)

Education is viewed positively among the Labu people. Labu youth generally have at least a community school education (through grade 6). A few progress on through high school and one was in University at the time of the survey.

Labu did not escape the extremes of WWII. The Japanese occupation of mainland New Guinea began at Salamaua and Lae on 8 March 1942, when 3000 Imperial navy and army troops converged on those locations. The Labu people were surrounded. Then, 9 September 1943, the allied forces began to re-occupy New Guinea by landing troops at Lae, forcing the Japanese troops back into the interior of the Huon Peninsula. Military landing craft, rusting quietly in Labu lagoon, are mute reminders of the very real impact of the war on the Labu language community. The invasion and occupation by the Japanese and then re-invasion by the allied troops meant a time of great suffering for the people of the Huon Gulf region. At the time of our visit 45 years later, the survey team heard stories of deprivation and hunger from elderly Labu residents who survived the conflict.

Vanimo

The Vanimo speech community (approximately 1660 speakers) is located in the West Sepik Province along a 9 kilometer stretch of coast in three villages. They are Lido (alternately named Vanimo), Warimo and Yako. Lido is approximately 5 kilometers west of Vanimo town, which is primarily populated by expatriates (both national and international). Vanimo town is the provincial capital for the West Sepik and the port of entry for commercial shipping to the Sepik Provinces. Yako and Warimo are located approximately 20 kilometers east of Irian Jaya (Indonesian) and its border community Wutung. Historically the Vanimo people were from around Lake Sentani in Irian Jaya, but after a series of catastrophes described as both spiritual and natural, the whole remaining population ventured east to their current location on the coast between low-lying hills and the sea.

Dutch expatriates came to missionize the people of northwest Papua New Guinea beginning in 1896. In that year a Catholic mission was founded by the Societas Verbi Divini (hereafter SVD) on Tumleo Island near Aitape (Gash & Whittaker, 1975). Approximately 10 years later, the mission at Vanimo was founded (Brown, 1998). Like their Lutheran counterparts, the Catholic priests found themselves not only pursuing spiritual goals, but were required to establish the material infrastructure to support mission efforts. (Wiltgen, 1969; Huber, 1990)

Education, including higher education, seems to be a value in the community. There were a number of highly educated professional people from the community and in the community. At the time of the survey, individuals from Vanimo were enrolled in Papua New Guinean national high schools, universities and teachers' colleges. All of the young women the survey team encountered (aged 15-20) had at least 6th grade education. In a region where education is provided first for the male children and then to the females, this was a remarkable finding.

During WWII the Vanimo people were impacted by invading Japanese forces. May 1942 saw the Japanese occupying Hollandia (Jayapura) just west of Vanimo territory and by December of the same year they had occupied Wewak to the east. Two years later (April 1944) Allied forces retook Aitape and Hollandia in simultaneous actions, isolating the Japanese 8th Army (Fleetwood, 1984). However, it wasn't until over a year later (September 1945) that the Japanese surrendered (Wheeler & Murray, 1993). According to historian John Waiko (1993) in areas where the fighting was heaviest practically everything the Europeans had built before the war was destroyed. Thus government and mission stations were lost and with them went valuable records. In Vanimo this loss included all the vernacular language materials painstakingly produced by the Catholic priests.

In summary, both speech communities were displaced from their traditional homes; both have the majority of their population spread within 3 coastal communities; both are located near commercial and political centers whose main core populations are expatriate (both national and international); both have had significant European contact prior to, during and after WWII as well as contact with Japanese forces; both have populations that have high levels of education (by PNG standards); and both have had mission contact for nearly 100 years. However, their language use characteristics are markedly different.

The rest of their story is told through the indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality.

Indicators of Ethnolinguistic Vitality

As I mentioned earlier, the indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality are a collection of factors that have been found in sociolinguistic literature and developed through experience in Papua New Guinea. These factors have been useful in indicating the probable direction a speech community will go relative to the maintenance of, or shift from its traditional language. Within the Papua New Guinean context no one factor has become a leading indicator of linguistic strength. Whether a language appears to be "maintained" or "dying" is relative to a collective impact of generally positive (maintained) or negative (dying) indicators that place the language on a continuum ranging from vital, change in process, radical shift in process, or death. Language maintenance and shift are long term consequences of consistent patterns of language choice throughout the speaking community.

One note of caution: The absence of indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality and by implication the presence of characteristics associated with language shift are not fool proof in the *prediction* of language shift or death, but they suggest the direction in which the language is going. It may be that language maintenance is not solely associated with the quantity of these indicators present, but with the quality of interrelationships between relatively positive and relatively negative forces. The relative strengths of these indicators have yet to be studied and documented in the Papua New Guinean context. With this note of caution, a discussion of the eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality[2] profiling the Labu and Vanimo language communities follows.

Relative Position on the Urban/Rural Continuum

The first indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality is the relative position of speakers of the language community on the urban/rural continuum. This is more than the location of the speech community relative to an urban area (or area where speakers of different and more prestigious languages congregate), but also access to that urban community (Buchheit, 1988). In essence, the sociolinguist evaluator is looking for active avenues of inter-language contact, especially where it is necessary to use a language other than the local vernacular.

Labu The adult population of Labu have at their access ocean going canoes (either privately owned or in the form of public transport) to make trips into Lae from Labu territory[3]. During my stay, I noted canoes departing from Labu territory between 5:00 and 7:00 a.m. and returning between 4:00 and 6:00 p.m. Approximately 80% of the adult population of Labu traveled to Lae six days each week. Nothing suggested that this routine of travel to Lae was unique to my time there. While in Lae, the adult population sell produce and baskets in the city market, buy supplies, visit relatives, continue gainful employment, use the medical facilities and enjoy recreational opportunities. The lingua franca of Lae is Tok Pisin and secondarily English.

Thus, traditional Labu speakers maintain significant contact with its neighboring non-vernacular speaking urban community.

Vanimo The Vanimo language community is located about 20 kilometers east of the international (Irian Jaya, Indonesia) border community of Wutung at its western end and 5 kilometers from the predominantly expatriate (national and international) government seat of the West Sepik (Sandaun) Province at the town of Vanimo. There is an all weather road that links Wutung and Vanimo that passes directly by the outskirts of each of the Vanimo speaking communities. Transport is available either through locally owned vehicles or through public motor vehicles (similar to buses in western societies) that make stops at all Vanimo speaking communities. The fare is the approximately K1.50 (US.75) from Vanimo to Wutung and approximately 50 toea (U.S .25) to travel between Vanimo speaking villages and Vanimo town. Individuals from the Vanimo speaking community sell produce in the town market or from stalls outside their homes along the road.

Vanimo speakers have relatively easy access to the commercial center at Vanimo town and some individuals have gainful employment through the aforementioned market system or in positions in town. There is also potential contact through those who would stop along the roadside stalls to buy from Vanimo speaking merchants on their way to or from the international border.

Number of domains in which the target language is used

It has been demonstrated that language choice is a mark of group identification and solidarity (Scotton, 1988). Thus accounting for vernacular choice, according to the number of domains in which it is found, becomes the second proposed indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality. Here the underlying question asks if there is sufficient use of the target language. As sociolinguists we seek to determine who uses the language and in what social environments, i.e. the domains. Further we seek to determine if there are any domains where the vernacular is the sole vehicle of oral communication.

Labu *Users* In all Labu communities we visited, only those persons above 45 years of age use the vernacular as a primary means of communication. Tok Pisin is the primary language in more domains than the vernacular for all age groups under age 45. In domains where the vernacular is used, Tok Pisin is also used. Thus there are no domains in which the vernacular is the sole means of communication. As the age of the speaker decreases, the extent of Tok Pisin usage increases. The present generation of children were learning Tok Pisin first and acquiring the vernacular (if at all) in later childhood or teenage years.

Domain profile The language of the church in all aspects of worship is Tok Pisin. The language of education is officially English, although in school recreation Tok Pisin is used as well as English. No vernacular was heard anywhere on school sites. The language of commerce is Tok Pisin primarily and English secondarily. The language for medical help is Tok Pisin or English. The language primarily overheard in all village settings was Tok Pisin.

Vanimo *Users* In the Vanimo communities we visited, Vanimo language was the preferred medium of conversational exchange across all generations. Tok Pisin is acquired secondarily.

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[2] Landweer, (1991) provides an earlier discussion of relative ethnolinguistic viability introducing six of the eight indicators discussed in the current paper. The seventh and eighth are subsequent additions based on continued discussion, study and experience with the maintenance and shift phenomenon in Papua New Guinea.

[3] The trip takes 20 minutes from Labu-butu; 40 minutes from Labu-miti; and 60 minutes from Labu-tali.

Domain profile The primary language used in church services is Tok Pisin, but there are precedents dating back to before WWII for church services in the vernacular, viz., prayer books were produced by an early SVD missionary. These early vernacular materials were destroyed during WWII. Today, the secondary language within the church domain is Vanimo. It is said that some songs are sung and announcements are made (or at least translated into) using the vernacular. In addition occasional sermons are delivered in the Vanimo language. Currently there is one mass written in the local language.

The official language of the classroom is English, however the preferred and used language of the playground is the vernacular. The bilingualism associated with the Vanimo schools (i.e., English and the vernacular Vanimo) is supported by the fact that three of the teachers are local Vanimo speakers. In addition, one of the headmasters expressed an openness to the use of any language in the classroom, just so it communicated the content of the lessons to the students. Thus, in this environment the children are said to speak freely to Vanimo teachers using Vanimo when on the school playground. One of the teachers said she routinely used that local vernacular with parents and children when away from the school grounds, and the same teacher said she would be quite willing to use Vanimo in the classroom, especially among the youngest students.

The language of medical help can be the vernacular, Tok Pisin or English, depending on whether one goes to the Baro aid post (the vernacular) or are seen by Dr. Sylvester Lohi (a native Vanimo speaker), or the hospital in town (where English or Tok Pisin would predominate).

The language of commerce is mixed. Those involved in the market economy (both in town and at their roadside stalls) are known to insist on using the vernacular, even among those who do not natively speak the language. The language of employment in town is Tok Pisin or English. It is noteworthy, however, that those who are employed in town return to their village homes at night, where the language primarily overheard in the majority of settings was Vanimo. Village commercial ventures (driving public motor vehicles, running trade stores, hosting at the "clubs") and local aid posts (for first aid) all use Vanimo as the language of choice among "wantoks[4]".

Frequency and type of code switching

Code switching is a common phenomenon found in multilingual communities such as those in Papua New Guinea. "Code" is a neutral term that denotes any variety of speech within the repertoire of the participants, from language to dialect, register and style. However, in the context of this paper we will limit "code" to indicate distinct languages. As such code switching occurs where multilinguals will use forms from an embedded language (or languages) in utterances of a matrix language during the same conversation. Stretches of code-switched material may be intersentential or intrasentential (the latter also referred to as code mixing). Intersentential code switching involves switches from one language to another between sentences. This type of code switching often occurs at major communication boundaries, when there are changes of participants, topics or any time the communication situation is redefined (such as a change of domain). Intersentential code switching is also referred to as situational code switching. Intrasentential switches (code mixes) occur within the same sentence, from single-morpheme to clause level and typically without the redefinition of the communication situation.

Code switching can also be differentiated by type. The code switching phenomenon can be 1) consistent across the community as in the case of diglossia;[5] 2) a stable form of multilingualism, as in situational code switching, where domains determine the language of choice (though not everyone in the community controls the preferred language forms); or 3) unbounded code switching where language choice changes without notable pattern or consistency.

As language choice is an indicator of momentary group identification (Scotton, 1995) for an individual communicator and as language contact and use are mitigating factors toward language change for that person, so the frequency and type of code switching and/or mixing within the communication patterns of a community impact the strength of the vernacular code. This is the third indicator of relative ethnolinguistic vitality. The underlying question of this indicator asks: Is there linguistic ambivalence? In other words, do people switch between the target language and one or more other languages without any notable consistency (unbounded code switching) as opposed to the more stable forms of bilingualism represented in situational code switches or diglossia?

Labu As may be surmised from the domain description earlier, there is marked code switching as defined by the situation within Labu communities. However, this indicator of vitality also pursues the question of unbounded code switching (that which is not defined by the situation). Overheard conversations in Labu indicated a marked shift toward Tok Pisin primarily and English secondarily among all speakers. In fact when code switches occurred, they occurred between the new matrix language, Tok Pisin, and the traditional vernacular Labu, which seemed to function as the embedding language among all speakers under 45.

Vanimo Within the three Vanimo village settings, there seems to be only situational code switching in communication events held between traditional Vanimo speakers. The two primary domains where these switches take place are the church and the school. In both situations, however, the matrix language (Tok Pisin in the former, and English in the latter) is primary, but is also subject to code switching events. Within the church setting a Christmas mass has been translated into Vanimo, and in one location a local song writer has written at least one worship song in the vernacular. Both are used in the church services. In the educational setting, while the official language of instruction is English, the headmaster of one of the schools and one of the teachers spoke of allowing and/or using the vernacular when needed, especially among the youngest students even in the classroom. The preferred language on the playground is the vernacular. It should also be noted that in contrast to many community school sites in Papua New Guinea, the Vanimo community schools had local Vanimo speakers on their faculty. In town, if a Vanimo speaker is employed in any of the businesses or government offices there is the necessity to speak either English or Tok Pisin or both. Embedding Vanimo into conversation is unlikely in these contexts, unless speaking with a "wantok."

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[4] A 'wantok' is a person who is a literal or designated relative (though possibly distant), one who is from the same area, a neighbor. The term comes from one who uses the same speech variety, i.e. 'one talk'.

[5] Diglossia is recognized as a stable form of bilingualism, where the two or more linguistic forms exist side by side throughout the speech community. Cf. classical articles on diglossia by Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 1967 & 1980, and more modern discussions of the phenomenon such as in Romaine, 1994

Population and group dynamics

Joshua Fishman, speaking on the requirements for reversal of language shift, and Nancy Dorian, speaking on the mechanisms of language death, both address the issue of the need of a core of fluent speakers for the continuation of a language (Dorian, 1986; Fishman 1991). In addition Dorian adds that a lack of others learning the target language as a second language further undermines the potential for viability. Thus, the underlying question of the fourth indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality asks: Is there a critical mass of speakers?

Labu Only the very old (60-70 years of age), perhaps 1% of the population, use Labu as their sole means of communication. Only those above 45 years of age use it as their primary means of communication. Marriage patterns and lack of land has resulted in homes that are bilingual if not also displaced from the Labu territory. This has resulted in a decrease of Labu speakers with whom younger generations have contact, and a change of language choice to Tok Pisin.

Vanimo Vanimo is the language of choice across all generations when speaking to "wantoks". Most marriage alliances are formed between clans of Vanimo speakers. However, where there is a marriage of mixed linguistic heritage, primarily noted in the village of Yako, the Vanimo component of the marriage continues to use the local vernacular with his or her relatives, but used Tok Pisin with the spouse and children. The non-Vanimo spouse then typically gains passive fluency in Vanimo. It should be noted, however, that these marriages comprised a small minority of the marriage alliances in the Vanimo speaking community as a whole. Vanimo speakers who emigrate continue contact with their Vanimo roots, returning to visit for holidays and often return to stay at retirement. The language of choice upon return among these formerly displaced Vanimo people is Vanimo.

Distribution of speakers within their own social networks

In my earlier work, I referred to the findings of Milroy and Dow (Landweer, 1991) that attest to the value of close-knit, dense, multiplex networks for the maintenance of a minority vernacular within a wider societal context. In essence these social networks provide internal reinforcement of the target language. It does so by insulating vernacular speakers, serving to isolate and protect them from language contact pressures toward change. Thus, the fifth indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality seeks information as to the nature of the social networks in the communities speaking the target language.

Labu The Labu people have marked contact with outgroups through their suburban lifestyle. All of their primary needs are met through their business, trade and market involvements in Lae. The dense multiplex interrelationships common to other groups in Papua New Guinea is markedly absent in Labu. With the exception of one health worker all significant social roles within the Labu community are held by non-Labu speakers. Even though the health worker is Labu by birth, he prefers to use Tok Pisin and English with his children.

Vamino The Vanimo group is characteristically highly educated and as such has members serving in every significant social role in the community – from teacher, to Public Motor Vehicle driver, to aid post orderly (for basic medical care), to trade store owner, to catechist, to club owner, to political leader (whether appointed, conferred, or elected). Further, Vanimo speakers tend to marry each other, though marriage outside the group is not unknown. When there is a cross-cultural marriage, those marrying-in minimally become passively bilingual in Vanimo. Except with expatriate priests and brothers[6] serving in the region, and those Vanimo speakers who are employed in town and thus must speak with those who are culturally non-Vanimo, Vanimo speakers can use the Vanimo language throughout everyday life.

Social outlook regarding and within the speech community

As language choice can serve as a marker of ethnic identity, so a strong ethnic identity can substantiate language choice. In his discussion of the American sign language community, Nash (1987) demonstrates the strength that social identity has in the maintenance of language choice. Further, Bourhis, Giles and Rosenthal (1981) have indicated various status factors which serve to reinforce ethnolinguistic vitality. Thus, a measure of the target community's social outlook becomes the sixth indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality. Here the underlying questions are: Is there internal or external recognition of the group as a separate and unique community in the broader society? Is there material or non-material evidence of such distinction?

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[6] Non-clerical members of the religious order

Labu The Labu seemed to be an ethnically subjugated group. Historically they fled their traditional lands, during WWII they were overrun, they are surrounded by more populous language groups, and they exist adjacent to one of the most cosmopolitan commercial centers of Papua New Guinea. While they may have been recognized, for example the Lae-Wampar did note them enough to terrorize them (Wagner & Reiner, 1986), the Labu people seem to have had a history of accommodating others, rather than being marked for their strength or ethnic distinctiveness.

Material and non-material evidence of their distinctiveness is certainly lacking. Judging from statements made by the Labu people during my time among them, this lack of distinctive cultural evidence may have been due in part by active discouragement of those things by the European expatriates who first contacted and worked among them. It is true that cultural subjugation was not unknown in the period of German colonial control (Fleetwood, 1984). Regardless of the causative agents, by my time in Labu territory there was very little evidence of a distinctive Labu culture remaining. The only remaining artifacts were the coracle (a round single-person water craft used to navigate in the swamp), baskets (sold to tourists) and the old clan totem poles in Labu miti. The survey team was told that only basket weaving was a continuing skill among the Labu for the pragmatic economic reason mentioned above. There was no one skilled to create new coracles when the current ones become unusable and further that there were no living carvers of totems. The houses in the Labu communities did not strike the surveyors as traditional - each family seemed to build according to their budget (using non traditional materials) and skill. The Labu non-material culture is similarly decimated. There were no indigenous singsings[7] remaining and those purchased from other ethnic Papua New Guineas were only practiced by the very aged. Male initiation is a thing of the past. It was interesting to note, however, that some taboos related to women were still observed.

Vanimo The Vanimo people have maintained a significant amount of material and non-material cultural distinctiveness. That they have done so may have been due in part to the enlightened attitude of the European expatriates who first made contact with them. The SVD priests who served among them are said to have rejected the head hunting and cannibalism, but with rare exception appreciated other aspects of the lifestyle they met. Thus, they "did not destroy works of art and cultural heritage willy-nilly" (Fleetwood, 1984).

Among the evidences of a continuing material cultural heritage are the following: Among the women there are the ubiquitous pandanas and bark cloth baskets. The only noted concession to the modern era in these items was the use, by some, of plastic string to sew some of these baskets together (rather than bush materials). Women also continue the traditional coil pottery works. The men continue the traditional carving and designing of fishing canoes. The men's stylized carving of the fishing canoes and the women's production of coil pots are skills unique to the Vanimo people. Further material evidence of a continuing culture were the small individual storage houses, the use of traditional implements such as bone awls, supple tree limb bark pincers, sago forks, clay pot shaping implements, and fishing nets and spears. Careful observation also revealed spears, bows, arrows and canoe paddles stored in the rafters of some houses. Less frequently observed, but recently practiced was the tattooing of young women's arms, legs, chests and faces. Evidences of change included the lack of scarification patterns on any of the younger women, (though noted on those who were old), and houses that were made of traditional materials, but augmented by nails and some cut lumber. Western clothing was worn throughout the villages visited. All three villages have their own church buildings, clubs (for consumption of alcohol and watching videos), trade stores, and two of the three have community schools.

Non-material evidence of a continuing cultural heritage was the knowledge by both men and women of the use of a toxic vine, as well as strict gender-based practices and taboos. Children and young people are being taught traditional skills and social mores.

Thus, although the Vanimo left their traditional lands and adopted a new home, have had expatriate contact for many years, including during WWII, and continue to have marked contact by reason of their location next to the provincial capital of the West Sepik Province, it can still be said that the Vanimo community is marked by a strong sense of identity and pride in their heritage even while taking advantage of modern aspects of life in Papua New Guinea.

Language prestige

As I indicated in the introductory abstract, there are over 800 separate language and cultural groups in Papua New Guinea. The population of these speech communities vary in number from a handful to 164,000. Population, cultural characteristics (e.g., aggressiveness versus passivity, or culturally outward looking and assimilative versus cultural contentment and protectionistic, or trading versus isolationist); physical accessibility versus inaccessibility; and opportunity (such as commercial development, missionization, and education by expatriate groups) all impact relative prestige between language groups in Papua New Guinea. Thus, the seventh indicator addresses this issue of relative language prestige. The questions asked are: Does the language have prestige among other neighboring or regional languages? What is the relative prestige of the target language within the linguistic repertoire of the speech community?

Labu As a language, Labu has negative status both inside and outside the community. Initial western contact imposed a different language for both education and religious instruction (Wagner & Reiner, 1986). At the time of my stay in Labu territory, I was told that Labu is "too hard for anyone else to learn" and thus no one was expected to do so, even by those who married Labu speakers and came to live in the limited land remaining of Labu territory. Thus, within Labu society the Labu language is denigrated. Outside of the community attitude toward Labu is ambivalent at best. The linguae francae in Lae, Tok Pisin and English, take precedent over any of the local vernaculars. The neighboring Bukawa' and Adzera speech communities are much larger in population and are also the sites of extensive missionization and education. Labu by comparison is a small remnant of a people group and language.

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[7] A singsing is a traditional form of dance and/or drama found northern Papua New Guinea. When a community does not retain their own singsings, it may choose to pay for the right to learn and dance the singsings of other ethnic groups.

Vanimo Vanimo is part of a chain of languages that follow the north coast of Papua New Guinea at least from the border community of Wutung to Leitre (40 kilometers east of Vanimo town). In an otherwise egalitarian social setting where surrounding languages are equally small and equally isolated, speakers of Vanimo are considered "big head"[8] because of their use of Vanimo in domains where others would switch to a lingua franca, such as Tok Pisin or English. To Vanimo speakers, Vanimo has a great deal of internal prestige. To speakers of other languages, Vanimo as a language has a certain amount of notoriety, if not grudging respect.

Access to a stable and acceptable economic base

One of the most common factors that leads a community to shift from one language to another is that the acquired language is thought economically beneficial by its adoptive community of speakers (Holmes, 1997). Scott Palmer (1997) suggests that this shift in language allegiance is a "consequence which hinges on the parents' perception that adequate work environments using their mother tongue do not exist for their children." Although Palmer discusses this phenomenon in the North American context, the principle of perceptual adequacy is applicable in the Papua New Guinean setting as well. Like their counterparts around the world, Papua New Guinean parents want their children to prosper, i.e., to access material wealth and social prestige specific to their cultural setting. For those having exposure to expatriates and Papua New Guinean élite, 'prospering' would also likely include accessing more of the wealth and prestige associated with those two groups.

For some in Papua New Guinea (such as those who live in urban settings), facility in the lingua franca is not as much a matter of 'prospering' but of existing (Romaine, 1992). However, for others, living in outlying areas near but not in urban settings, subsistence gardening and hunting or fishing makes it possible to live using only the traditional language repertoire. The crux of the matter then rests in the parents' perception of 'prospering' and what language(s) is/are necessary for access to the 'prosperous' lifestyle. Thus, the final indicator of ethnolinguistic vitality asks: Is there an acceptable economic base supportive of continuing use of the target language?

Labu The majority of ethnic Labu people live either on that tiny strip of land between the swamp and the sea or in settlements within the city limits of Lae. If there were gardens, neither those gardens, nor produce from them were apparent to the survey team. In contrast tinned and packaged food met nutritional needs. It seemed quite apparent, then that the ethnically Labu had transferred to a cash economy. Their sources of income were based in positions of employment in town or profits selling "kambang"[9] and fish, and/or Labu baskets at the marketplace in Lae.

Vanimo Although cash flow does not seem to be a problem to the Vanimo people due to various schemes of marketing, trade stores, transportation and outside employment, they also seemed to have sufficient resources to continue well as an ethnic identity without cash. This is because of their adequate land holdings, gardening and fishing skills, and ability to navigate.

Summary

This paper has profiled two speech communities which share remarkable similarities, but which evidence diverse ethnolinguistic outcomes. The question then is what has contributed to the depression of the culture and demise of the language in the first speech community and facilitated maintenance of the culture and language in the second. To address this, eight indicators of ethnolinguistic vitality have been used to profile both communities.

To review, both communities have similar geographic locations (they are coastal, divided between three main communities, located near urban centers); nearly identical population figures; both were displaced; each have had marked contact with expatriates before, during and after WWII; and both are highly educated. However, Vanimo has:

1. Continued usage of the vernacular in all domains of life;
2. Code switching is situationally based and limited to the contexts of the church and school;
3. A critical mass of speakers supported by marriage patterns (speakers marrying speakers and remaining in the villages), and language use among children where the children become fluent first in the vernacular followed by other languages;
4. A network of speakers in prestigious positions throughout society resulting in a dense multiplex network of communication between Vanimo speakers;
5. Evidence of a continuing material and non material culture resulting in both internal and external recognition as a unique social group culturally;
6. A type of positive prestige as a language (among other local language communities); and
7. A dual economy - it is possible to survive in Vanimo on garden produce and fish from the sea. In fact highly educated individuals have returned home in retirement and are doing just that!

In addition, Vanimo has a history of as well as current material produced in the vernacular. Vanimo is vital. In contrast, Labu lacks each of these indicators and is dying.

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[8] proud or stubborn

[9] A lime product made from shells gathered from the lagoon and the sea.

Conclusion

Jean Aitchison's book *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* (1995) begins with the statement: "Change is inevitable." Not only do languages change, but also the cultural milieu in which they find themselves. Nothing is static. Wagner and Reiner (1986) summarize the impact of changes in indigenous Papua New Guinean communities, especially in relation to European contact; viz.

> Perhaps changes which have come to Papua New Guinea in the period of European colonial and Christian missionary activity have been unprecedented in their scope and rapidity; but these cannot be used to support the view that before this era there were no major changes among Papua New Guinea peoples. Migration, contact with other peoples, major changes in economy (e.g., from hunting and gathering to agriculture), introduction of new domestic animals (e.g., pigs) and crops (e.g., sweet potato), major natural disasters (e.g., earthquakes and volcanic eruptions), all brought major changes. Even apart from such major changes, it cannot be assumed that Papua New Guinea societies were static and unchanging before 1884, the beginning of the colonial period.

The two communities profiled in this paper present a case in point. The Labu were harassed and subjugated by the Lae Wampar, moving to their present location long before expatriates arrived to negotiate a peaceful settlement (Wagner & Reiner, 1986). The Vanimo experienced such a significant amount of what they termed "natural and spiritual disasters" that they uprooted and traveled east from Lake Sentani (located in Irian Jaya, Indonesia) to their adopted homeland on the northwest stretch of coast in Papua New Guinea. Changes in these societies continued with the advent of European contact whose entrepreneurs brought economic ventures requiring land and labor; whose missionaries imported western religious systems and classical education; whose colonial governments overlaid European expectations of law, order, justice, and loyalty before, during, and after the incredible upheaval of WWII. Changes continued with the forming of the modern nation-state of Papua New Guinea and the place these two language communities find themselves in it. Through it all, the cumulative effects of a stream of local choices have resulted in ethnolinguistic vitality among the Vanimo and ethnolinguistic demise among the Labu. On the one hand expatriate contact seemed to have contributed toward that demise among the Labu, but, on the other the same contact did not seem to have any negative impact on the relative vitality among the Vanimo.

Perhaps the issue is not so much "contact" but what type of contact. The SVD fathers who first served among the Vanimo were remarkably sensitive to and apparently honored what they could of the traditional culture, drawing the line at head hunting and cannibalism. In contrast those first serving among the Labu were perhaps less than respectful, denying the value of what marked the Labu as distinctive culturally. Then there is the matter of the Vanimo and Labu languages themselves. The entrance of an expatriate team specifically tasked to document and develop the vernacular language might have significantly changed the direction of the Labu language or increased the vitality of the Vanimo language, but it is difficult to tell.[10] We don't know for certain what might have been, but we may have a clue. We do know that the Vanimo people had in their corporate memory the recollection that their language had been learned by an expatriate, written down, and initial materials had been produced (though destroyed in WWII). At the time of the survey a modern Christmas mass as well as a worship song had been written in the vernacular, the latter by a local ethnic Vanimo man living in the community. Perhaps the corporate memory of written Vanimo was the catalyst of these new vernacular works. By way of contrast, the Labu people apparently have had no one who learned Labu or produced materials in it. Instead they had a neighboring language imposed on them if they were to access the religious and educational instruction offered them.

There are suggestions in the literature (e.g., Harwood, Giles and Bourhis, 1994) that external support of vernacular languages can facilitate the ethnolinguistic choices of minority language speakers. However, it also seems evident that these minority groups must have the inner will and focused strength to continue using their vernaculars choosing to take advantage of any opportunity or support that an external agency may lend. Do we have the right to "interfere"? Do we have the right to withhold our support? Ultimately it seems to be a choice based on the ethics and opportunity of the individual linguistic, sociolinguistic, community development professional, on the one side and the desires of the communities they propose to serve on the other.

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[10] There is anecdotal evidence regarding the Urat and Kamasau people of the East Sepik Province, Binumarien of the Easter Highlands Province, and various languages in Milne Bay, that specific expatriate (national and international) attention to and development of these local vernacular languages has resulted in a reversal of language shift, and in the case of the Binumarien a reversal of a perception of cultural demise as well. Cf. Cooper, 1998 and Oates, 1992.

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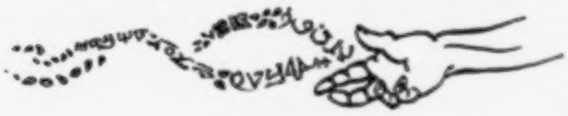

4

Understanding the Language from the Inside

The Roles of Two Kinds of Expert in Language Renewal

N. Louanna Furbee
Department of Anthropology and Program in Linguistics
107 Swallow Hall, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri 65211 USA
[furbeen@missouri.edu]

Lori A. Stanley
Department of Sociology, Anthropology and Social Work
Luther College, Decorah, Iowa 52101 USA
[stanleyl@martin.luther.edu]

Tony Arkeketa
Otoe-Missouria Tribe of Oklahoma
Route 1, Box 62
Red Rock, Oklahoma 74651 USA
[redland@fullnet.net]

Abstract

Two questions usually dominate in language planning: What to do, and how to do it. Here we take up the issue of who shall create and execute the plan as it pertains to the division of responsibility and design and implementation. We discuss the Otoe-Missouria Tribe, which has nearly lost its native language, Chiwere Siouan. Yet the tribe values the language and hopes to preserve it. In the past few years, the Otoe-Missouria Tribe has moved aggressively to preserve their language at a time when they have lost their most fluent speakers. In so doing, they have also tried to engage the help of professional linguists — "experts" — in the design and execution of these preservation attempts. For their part, cooperating linguists have sought to identify and train language specialists within the tribe who might lead in the analytic and renewal effort. Such persons would constitute another kind of "expert" in such projects, one who has full claim to the language by virtue of tribal affiliation. Many persons have interest in such an effort, but it has proven difficult to find those who can supply the desire, talent, and time demanded in the absence of permanent funding. We suggest a plan for the renewal of Chiwere, one that proposes to train specialists in the intricacies of the language so they may function as reservoirs and creators of ritual knowledge, while offering less motivated individuals essential vocabulary and appropriate ritual phrases that are central to cultural conceptions.

Introduction

For the many years of its decline, Chiwere Siouan was seldom spoken in every-day conversations, even between fluent speakers, yet it remained appropriate in special circumstances — rituals, ceremonies, oratory, religious occasions — when perhaps few but the speaker understood; further, it was observed that knowledge of only a phrase or two for use in special contexts raised one to the status of a "speaker" of the language, albeit a partial speaker. From attitudes such as these, we argue that two kinds of potential "speaker" exist for Chiwere; they have different goals and are potentially recipients of different language programs. The first — the majority — wants an inventory of cultural vocabulary and phrases; instruction for this person would resemble that outlined by Parker (1988) for the Coeur d'Alene following a "language and culture" approach suggested by Eastman and Reese (1981). The second — likely the new generation of ritual specialists — wants to learn entire texts (of prayers, songs, naming ceremonies, etc.). This latter group holds potential native scholars — a second sort of expert in addition to the more commonly thought of professional linguists. Native scholars may come to control Chiwere as an avenue for understanding "sacred texts," much as students of Sanskrit, Hebrew, and Latin have. We take up here the issue of recruitment and retention of language specialists from within the tribe, concentrating on what we see as the primary issue: providing long-term financial support for the tribal language leadership and sufficient intellectual and emotional support for that group and its apprentices from the linguistic community experts.

Many languages of the Great Plains and elsewhere have disappeared with breathtaking speed in recent years, in several instances leaving scholars stunned that this or that language has but a handful of speakers today when a mere generation ago it may have had several hundred (Chafe 1988). Today we ponder how such a rapid decline could obtain, often enough with only modest note taken of endangerment until the final crisis. In an effort to create a more informed public policy, we simultaneously search the record for causes that we overlooked, and seek the means to renew these languages that are seemingly suddenly endangered (Hale et al. 1992). Chiwere Siouan, the language of the Otoe-Missouria and Iowa Tribes of North

Central Oklahoma, exemplifies this situation of rapid attrition and eventual death for the Great Plains languages.[1]

In a belated reversal of long-standing policies and trends, the United States has in recent decades taken some steps to restore the language rights of Native Americans and facilitate language preservation efforts. Some communities have benefited from bilingual education programs instituted in a few schools as early as the 1930s and introduced into many others during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s and 1970s (Hernández-Chávez 1995). Such programs may help preserve native languages, but they tend to focus more on proficiency in the dominant language and on academic achievement than on native language maintenance (Ruiz 1994). Recently, Congress passed two Native American Languages Acts. The first, signed into law in 1990, states that "it is the policy of the United States to preserve, protect, and promote the rights of freedom of Native Americans to use, practice, and develop Native American languages" (Public Law 101-477, Title 1). This act is largely symbolic since it includes no mechanisms for carrying out the stated objectives. The second Native American Languages Act was passed in 1992 (Public Law 102-524). Its purpose is "to *assist* Native Americans in assuring the survival and continuing vitality of their languages," and it establishes a grant program to support Native American community projects.

After centuries of language rights violations, Native Americans living in the United States are being offered some assistance in their efforts to reclaim their right to use and preserve their ancestral languages. Unfortunately, in many communities, the language is already severely threatened because only by older members of the tribe speak it. Yet in most cases speakers and non-speakers alike cherish and want to preserve their ancestral tongue because it continues to function as an "associated language" — a language that is linked to and helps to define their ethnicity (Eastman and Reese 1981). An obsolescent or extinct language, like religious ceremonies or social practices that live on only in a people's collective memory, is still a part of the cultural heritage that binds people and defines their shared ethnicity. An important issue in Native American language planning today is: How can language planning benefit tribes with few speakers? Given the advanced stage of obsolescence of many indigenous languages, how can tribes work toward reclaiming some of their language?

Obstacles to Language Planning

Clearly, a language plan designed to reintroduce or maintain a group's associated language as a mode of every-day communication is not feasible for most tribes, but this does not mean that such groups cannot benefit from language planning (Dorian 1987). It does mean that the goals and methods of a language plan must be designed to fit the particular community, taking into consideration factors that exist because of the obsolescent nature of the language. Chiwere is an excellent example of such a language. Historically, the Chiwere Sioux of the eastern Great Plains of North America comprised three distinct tribal groups — the Iowa, Otoe, and Missouria. Each tribe spoke a dialect of Chiwere, a Siouan language closely related to Winnebago. Around 1800 the Missouria tribe, decimated by disease and warfare, joined the Otoes. Eventually their dialects merged and became recognized simply as "Otoe." Before the turn of the 20th Century, both the Otoe-Missouria and Iowa tribes were forced from their homelands and relocated to marginal lands in the region known as Indian Territory, now the state of Oklahoma. Today the two tribal communities are located within 50 miles of one another in north central Oklahoma.

Members of the Otoe-Missouria and Iowa communities refer to Chiwere as their language, even though English predominates for all speakers in nearly all contexts. Chiwere is no longer a language of day-to-day communication for anyone, and to revive it as such would be impossible. There are several reasons for this. First and foremost is the small number of remaining fluent speakers. When the Missouri Chiwere Language Project began in 1988, we knew of a dozen or more speakers. Within the past two years, the last four fluent speakers of the language have died, and only one person remains with true full knowledge of the language; she is so out of practice that she finds it difficult to produce extended speech freely. There is a fairly large number of persons with semi-fluency of varying levels. A second problem, related to the first, is that in most families two or even three generations have grown up without learning Chiwere or even hearing it spoken in the home. This means that the parents and grandparents of today's schoolchildren cannot provide youngsters with the linguistic environment necessary for true language revival. A third obstacle to language revival is the fact that, like many Native American communities, the Otoe-Missouri and Iowa tribes are geographically scattered and factionalized politically. Language revival requires extraordinary mutual cooperation on the part of the target group. Although two previous attempts to provide basic instruction in Chiwere failed, it is encouraging that both the Otoe-Missourias and Iowas have mounted organized efforts to obtain federal grants to assess the level of indigenous language proficiency in their communities and plan for the renewal of their language. Last, there is the problem of "dialect factionalism." As the language has been dying out and losing its communicative function, speakers no longer interacted with it on a daily basis. There was no longer a social context within which individuals and groups engaged in accommodation — the tendency to mimic the speech style of a conversational partner. Accommodation provides a means for speakers to signal approval and congeniality; it also can be a source of language change and adjustment (Giles 1973; Trudgill 1983; 1986). In the case of Chiwere, it seems that lack of accommodation led to significant language change. With the decline in day-to-day use, there were diminished opportunities for speakers of Chiwere to accommodate their speech patterns to those of other speakers. As a result, "family" dialects began to develop within the Otoe and Ioway dialects (Rogles, Stanley and Furbee 1989; Stanley and Furbee 1991; Furbee 1995). In recent years, "true" speakers, as well as those who have a passive knowledge of Chiwere, have tended to recognize the speech of one individual — typically the oldest or most fluent speaker in their lineage — as being closer to "correct" than that of other persons who speak the language. Furthermore, the capabilities of other speakers are often denigrated. Because of the development of family dialects and the tendency to view critically the speech of those outside one's own extended family, a language revival program for Chiwere would likely suffer from conflict over choosing a dialect to serve as the model for instruction.

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[1] Chiwere is the language of the Otoe-Missouria and Iowa Tribes. There are two dialects that closely resemble one another: 'Chiwere' is spoken by the Otoe-Missouria Tribe and is frequently referred to as the 'Otoe' language or dialect. 'Báxoje' is spoken by the Iowa Tribe and often referred to as the 'Iowa' dialect. We follow the convention here of using 'Iowa' to refer to the tribe and 'Ioway' to refer to the dialect of Chiwere spoken by the Iowa Tribe.

Planning Renewal of the Heritage Language

Given the advanced obsolescence of Chiwere, a plan aimed at reviving the language as a mode of day-to-day communication would certainly fail. Still, there is demonstrated interest and demand for language renewal. Most want to maintain the language, or some part of it, as a cultural heirloom symbolizing a shared history and facilitating group cohesion. There are three issues, which pertain to (1) content — the version of the language to promote and the nature of the instructional materials, (2) the methods of achieving the language revival task, and (3) the personnel involved in the decision-making and the revitalization effort.

Content — Language as Culture

In her "language reintroduction" approach to Native American language planning, Eastman (1979a) recognized that language revival is not a feasible goal when a group's associated language is no longer a vehicle of communication. A more realistic objective is "language reintroduction." This approach involves "defining *language as culture* to be integrated into an existing speech community where another language is, and will remain, dominant....A plan to reintroduce a language serves mainly to embellish a dominant language with a cultural component reflective of the ethnolinguistic identities and heritages of its speakers" (Eastman 1979a:100; emphasis added).

Eastman offers no detailed methodology for reintroducing a "culture language," but she places emphasis on teaching culture-specific or culture-loaded vocabulary. The main thrust of the approach is the use of native categories and culturally important terms to engender a sense of ethnicity and group history (Eastman 1979a, 1979b; Eastman and Reese 1981). Fortunately, Good Tracks' recently published dictionary, *Iowa-Otoe Missouria Language* (1992), is full of such culturally important vocabulary and presents a rich resource for language instruction along such lines. One of the problems with previous language renewal attempts may have been a presentation lacking sufficient cultural interest. However, the educationally sound teaching texts produced by Wistrand-Robinson (1997, 1978) and her collaborators do select several culturally important categories for emphasis in the dialogues, and so could be used for teaching culturally important information as well as basic aspects of every-day communication. In fact, trying to reestablish Chiwere as a mode of every-day communication is not a realistic option for Otoe-Missourias or Iowas. What is of interest to most persons is mastery of heirloom phrases and vocabulary, along with knowledge of their appropriate contexts for presentation. For persons wanting such "language as culture" competency in Chiwere, one needs to identify appropriate forums for instruction. School classes are not likely candidates since the Otoe-Missouria Tribe has no tribally run school. Given the mix of students in the local schools, Chiwere courses would be hard to justify as anything but an extracurricular offering. On the other hand, local churches, the War Mothers organization, and the tribal Senior Citizens Center and Administrative Complex would provide additional venues for a teacher or teachers to reach out to interested adults, just as the schools might provide such opportunities for youngsters. But who shall teach?

Methods — Master and Apprentice

Most tribe members who want to learn a heritage language like Chiwere will desire introduction to culturally important semantic domains, plus a small set of ritual expressions appropriate for use in certain ritual occasions. A certain number of potential students, however, will want to know more, much more. There are some who will wish to master, even reconstruct, their heritage language. These persons are sometimes the grandchildren of fluent speakers, but in our experience, they seldom have much knowledge of the language themselves and have not grown up in a household in which the language was used. They are, however, very serious about their identity, and frequently are particularly concerned with the spirituality conveyed by the heritage way of life. They have said things like, "God speaks to His children in languages appropriate to each. I am afraid that because I do not know my tribal language, I will never be able to understand God when I meet Him." Such feelings provide strong motivations for learning a language fully. Yet, there is little opportunity for such a person to learn Chiwere. One method that offers promise is the *master-apprentice* approach pioneered by Hinton (1994) for some California Indian language situations. In this approach, a fluent speaker is paired with an interested learner-apprentice, who frequently is a relative of the master-teacher. The apprentice seeks both to learn the heritage language fully and completely, but also to record the knowledge of the master. One of the advantages of this approach is that it mimics the culturally appropriate way the native language is to be learned ideally — from a grandparent by a grandchild. The forum for learning is the natural one — the household, with the learner "at the knee" of the teacher, like a grandchild with a grandparent.

Personnel — Two Kinds of Expert: Tribal Scholar and External Consultant

If creating such pairs were all that was needed, the task of renewing heritage languages would be trivial. There are many persons who wish to learn, and for many languages — although sadly not for Chiwere — there are a number of fluent speakers willing to teach a member of the tribe. Unfortunately, knowing a language does not assure that one can teach that language to an adult who is a second language learner. Furthermore, with respect to the apprentice, wanting to learn the language does not necessarily guarantee the skills needed to learn the language in an informal setting as an adult. What works for children in the early phases of acquisition of language — namely providing the model and context for communicating — is inadequate for adult acquisition of a second language. The motivated apprentices are all adults.

These motivated apprentices should be thought of as *tribal scholars* in training who eventually will become the authorities on their language and the persons in whom the future of the language will reside. They will need help, however, from a linguist trained in both descriptive linguistics and sociolinguistics and education. This person is an expert also, but should be thought of as an *external consultant*. The external consultant provides the methods missing in the master-apprentice approach. The external expert should be able to guide the apprentice tribal scholar in the on-going analysis of the language. The external expert should work as consultant only, helping the apprentice with the preparation of materials and planning for the dissemination of the language to others in the community who want to obtain a "language as culture" level of linguistic competency, but the professional linguist must not make the decisions for the tribe or its authorized representatives when it comes to language planning. To do so is to doom the plan to failure since it interrupts the natural decision making that insures that tribe members are invested in the outcome of the project. The external expert can work as a program facilitator, help prepare the orthography, compile the linguistic, culture, and historical information to be transmitted to students, prepare teaching materials, train cadres of teachers, and consult on designing the program of instruction and coordinating and evaluating the project as it proceeds. Best of all would be having a member of the tribe act in these capacities, and that would be possible in some situations in which there are tribe members sufficiently trained linguistically. The Native American Languages Development Institutes have attempted to train cadres of just such tribal experts for those languages for which there are sufficient speakers and adequate venues for the teaching of the languages. Unfortunately, Chiwere does not have such numbers of speakers or venues.

Nonetheless, there are persons willing to devote themselves to mastering Chiwere, who are willing to spend a lifetime curating the language as a tribal heritage. And, there are a very few — very few — living speakers with sufficient knowledge of the language to impart to an apprentice. These persons represent yet a second kind of indigenous expert, the *knowledge expert*. These are the masters, the reservoirs of that prized and sacred information that potential tribal scholars long for. In a way, we are talking about not two, but three kinds of expert, two of whom must be from within the tribe, the knowledge expert and the tribal scholar. But one must recognize that as the last of the speakers of the language die, knowledge of the language will reside less in the hands of those knowledge experts who learned it through ordinary first language acquisition and more in the hands of the tribal scholar/experts who will be responsible for ferreting out information from documents (for example, the Marsh manuscripts n.d., the Dorsey manuscripts n.d.) and their own reconstructions. Those reconstructions will be constructed using their scholarly skills that should be built with the aid of the external consultant. In the end, such a tribal scholars should become masters themselves, taking on new apprentices from the ranks of those in the next generation who are the most interested.

We must realize that it is not realistic to expect a language like Chiwere to return to every-day spoken status. But we can expect Chiwere to be saved as a heritage language in a form accessible to every tribe member as "language as culture" and accessible to those few deeply persons as "language as life quest." It is the duty of external consultants to help the tribal experts make that happen, but it is not advisable for them to attempt the decision-making on their own. The product will always be suspect if they do, and consequently will not be accepted by the tribe.

Implementation

A plan to maintain Chiwere as a language of the Otoe-Missouria depends on the differential treatment of two kinds of potential new speaker, the speaker who seeks a limited repertoire of Chiwere for use with English and the future tribal scholar in Chiwere. It further requires that there be a distinction drawn between the tribal scholar experts, in whose hands the future of the language will lie, and external consultant experts, who advise, facilitate, and train the tribal scholars in linguistic methods. Knowledge experts should be used as masters to whom the tribal scholars-in-training can be apprenticed for as long as the language has such speakers available. Even when there are no more native speakers of a language like Chiwere, however, the tribal scholars can continue to recover language information from documentary sources, can reconstruct, and can even re-create the heritage language for the tribe. The tribal expert will eventually want to be able to create new sacred texts where appropriate; for example, the expert should be able to help tribe members in the translation of new songs into Chiwere, in the casting of new ritual words to accompany the establishment of a new tradition or ceremony, or in the creation of new stories in Chiwere to accompany name-giving. Making this happen requires funding these tribal scholar apprentices and their knowledge expert masters.

Tribes may seek government grants that will the major portion of language renewal efforts, with the tribe expected to supply the additional monies. It is questionable, however, that government funding could ever be entertained as a permanent solution to the problem of providing support for tribal scholars of the language. Tribes do have the option of dedicating funds for language positions in their own budgets. As tribes are pushed to become more self-supporting in funding all their programs, they have the opportunity to put a high priority on language maintenance and renewal. Language then will have to compete with health care and other social programs for available monies. There is potential also for some private philanthropic sources of support for language renewal. All in all, however, it must be clear that there is no simple solution to the money problem for language renewal. Furthermore, it is perhaps just as important that the tribe itself supply a major part of any such funding so it will continue to "own" the efforts to maintain its language. The tribal scholars will need to have some funding. Especially at the outset, they will be engaged in something resembling full-time work on the language. On the other hand, the external consultants should remain just that — external and consultants. Many of them are academics whose work requires that they provide a certain percentage of their effort to "service." This is appropriate service, and indeed, their donated in-kind effort can be counted in any grant application as part of a tribe's financial contribution to the proposed project. When an external person is paid, it should be clearly as a temporary consultant, not as a permanent employee. Thus, although there are many talented linguists willing to be the language expert for a tribe, tribes should be cautious in employing such outsiders in those roles. Tribal language scholars must be insiders — really they should be members of the particular tribe whose language is at issue, if they are to have legitimate access to the language, and if they are to be empowered adequately to make important decisions and recommendation about it. It is the job of the outside consultant to help the tribe find such people, train them, and step aside.

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The Role of Specialists: The Case of Flemish in Belgium

Kim Hardie
G.Callierlaan 28
9000 Gent
Belgium
hardie.home@skynet.be

Abstract

Belgium became an independent country in 1830. It was a bilingual country, but with only one official language - French. At that time, the Flemish language, a variety of Dutch, was not an officially recognized language even though it was spoken by the majority. Via literary, political, and educational pressure the language became accepted and is now an official language of Belgium alongside French and German. The case of Flemish in Belgium is an example of how a language, once standing as a set of dialects without an accepted standard, with no status and not used in the media, education or politics, can be successfully maintained. The roles played by linguists, educators, politicians and the press in the restoration of Flemish were, and still are, of great importance.

This paper will describe the struggle Flemish underwent to become the dominant language in Belgium that it is today, as well as discussing the political-linguistic complications that still exist in Belgium. Additionally it will illustrate how current European policy is having a potentially damaging influence on the position of Flemish in Brussels.

Introduction

Today Belgium counts a population of 10 million. It is a Federal State with 3 official languages (Dutch, French and German), 4 linguistic communities (Flanders, Wallonia, Brussels and the East Cantons), 3 Federal Governments and one National government. All of this is held together by the King of the Belgians, Albert II.

The country is divided by a border with no natural markers which runs from east to west just south of Brussels; it divides the two main language communities of Belgium: Flanders and Wallonia. Flanders today has a population of about 6 million, Wallonia of about 3 million, with the remaining 1 million living in Brussels. Even though the Flemish were always a numerical majority in Belgium, it did not automatically follow that their language was given official recognition. On the contrary. It was only until the second half of this century that some sort of balance between French and Dutch has been achieved.

Flemish and the Dutch Language

During the 16th Century, Flanders was occupied by the Spanish who never managed to take over The Netherlands. This meant that there was little or no communication between the Dutch-speaking people in The Netherlands and the Flemish-speaking people in Belgium. While the Flemish were under Spanish rule, the Dutch managed to slowly develop their language into a standardised form. Later, under Austrian and French rule, the Flemish still did not find any opportunity to homogenise their dialects into a unified language. In Europe, French was the language of the ruling classes, of governments, of advancement. Those who wanted to climb the social ladder had to speak French.

During the French Revolution in 1794, when Belgium was under French rule, the class system had been eradicated, the influence of the Catholic Church had been reduced, and new industries developed. The Netherlands were only annexed by France in 1810 and were late to take over the French reforms. In 1815, after Napoleon's defeat, the 7 Northern Provinces of the Netherlands united into a monarchy under William I. It was then that the Dutch annexed Belgium into their Kingdom.

William I wanted to push through a number of reforms. He wanted to unite the Netherlands and Belgium and became known for his phrase "One Nation, One Language". This one language was not French, but Dutch. His kingdom counted 6.235.000 inhabitants who spoke mostly French and German. Nevertheless, three-quarters of his people spoke Dutch as their mother tongue: 2.31400 in the North and 2.351.00 in Flanders. In Flanders, however, the upper classes spoke French and the remainder of the population spoke a set of dialects out of which neither the Dutch nor the Flemish could forge a common language.

Tensions rose between the Dutch monarch and his Flemish and Walloon subjects. Especially the Walloons objected to him trying to impose Dutch as the main language of the kingdom of the United Provinces. But also the Flemish aristocracy objected as they were French-speaking. One of the main factors leading to the failure of the King's 'one nation, one language' policy was the lack of a writing language and the feeling amongst the Flemish people that they were different from the Dutch in the North.

Belgian Independence and the Flemish Movement

In 1830 the Revolution in Brussels took place and Belgium became an independent country. The Revolution was led mostly by Liberals and Catholics who disliked the Dutch and were against the King's language policies which promoted the Dutch language.

However, the unification with the Netherlands, albeit short, had sown the seeds amongst the Flemish intellectuals, and slowly the demand for equal rights for Flemish speakers started to take form. In the early beginnings of the Belgian state, the Flemish Language pioneers encountered a lot of resistance: it reminded the Belgians too much of Dutch Rule, the aristocracy and the higher echelons of the clergy in Flanders were still very much French-speaking and, most importantly, Wallonia was economically speaking much stronger than Flanders at the end of the 19th and beginning of the 20th Century.

The battle for Flemish equality was fought in four phases: 1) the foundation of the Flemish Movement; 2) the battle for the first language laws; 3) the development for Language Legislation; 4) the development of Belgium into a Federal State.

Literature

The main ideals of the Flemish Movement were protest against the 'Frenchification', development of the Flemish psyche and the intellectual and material development of the Flemish people. Initially the Flemish protests were expressed in literature with authors like Albrecht Rodenbach and Hendrik Conscience. Especially the latter became known in Flanders as the man 'who taught his people to read'. Conscience also set the norms of Flemish writers to come: not to follow any rules set out by their Dutch colleagues in the North. The Flemish authors became know for developing their own idiosyncratic style, which was in obvious conflict to the Dutch in the North who were eager to further develop their standard Dutch.

A debate started within the Flemish movement on whether Holland Dutch was better than Flemish Dutch. The movement split in two, with one side concentrating more and more on the Dutch language of the Netherlands and so to a Standardised Dutch. The main idea behind this approach to the Dutch was that it would give Flemish in Flanders more prestige if it were seen to be affiliatedto the Netherlands and thus make it easier to fight French, a world language. The other side objected to the appeal to the Dutch, not so much for the written version of Dutch, which did not pose a real problem, but to the spoken language, which was foreign in Flanders.

The First Language Laws

In 1873 the first laws were laid down for the use of languages in court cases, after an incident took place where two Flemish workers were condemned to death, even though they were innocent. In 1878 the use of language in Government Institutions was legislated. The same happened in 1883 for language use in further education. Finally, in 1898 Dutch was recognised as an official language. Only in 1910 did Catholic schools become Dutch-speaking and even then it happened under strong objection from the French-speaking episcopality. More and more there was a demand for bilingualism, especially in schools and in government posts. This was to the disadvantage of the French-speaking Flemish upper middle classes and the Walloons who would eventually lose their posts in key-positions of power.

However, all these laws which were passed in Parliament were not the main markers of this period of change for Flemish. Change was mostly brought about by social, political and cultural events.

The First Flemish-Speaking University

The slaughter of the Flemish soldiers was one of the biggest tragedies in Belgium during WW1. More Flemish soldiers fell than Walloon ones because of the language problems. All the commanding officers in the Belgian army were French-speaking who made no efforts to make their orders understood amongst their Flemish-speaking soldiers. During the war, the Flemish Movement fell in discredit as it sought among the German occupiers to further the cause of Flemish. The many things they achieved (such as making the University of Gent Flemish-speaking) were therefore disbanded as the activists were seen as collaborators.

After the war men in Belgium were given the right to vote and the first socialist party was founded in Belgium. It united the Flemish and the Walloons in the idea that everyone could decide themselves in linguistic matters in their own home and eventually this led to the University of Gent becoming the very first Flemish-speaking University of Belgium in 1930.

The Third Phase

There are two types of multilingual states: those based on the "personality" principle and those based on the "territorial" principle. Luxembourg is an example of a country where all the languages are spoken 'next to each other' as it were, whereas Switzerland is an example of the territorial principle: the languages are spoken in specific areas in the country. Up until this Third Phase of the Language Battle, Belgium was not like either of these: Wallonia spoke French but in Flanders the language was decided by the social classes; the Flemish upper middle classes spoke French and the Flemish ordinary people spoke Flemish.

There are different ways of governing the types of multilingual states mentioned. Those working on the "personality" principle have their government speaking to them in whatever language they want. In the "territorial" principle, the government will speak in one language in one area and in another in the other area of the country. Belgium slowly evolved to the Swiss model of territorial multilingualism.

Until then the Flemish had always been the weakest as they were the ones who always had to learn French, which was the prestigious language. The "territorial " principle was obviously very attractive to the Flemish. The French-speaking Flemish objected strongest to this new development as they would have to learn Flemish. It also meant that official and government posts in Flanders had to be filled with people who spoke Flemish.

The foundations for this territorial principle were laid in the 30s under mutual agreement between the Flemish and Walloons. The only thing missing now was an official language boundary between the two areas and a solution for Brussels.

The second World War, the battle between the Catholic and the non-Catholics (i.e. the liberals and the socialists) slowed down the implementation of the new language laws. Slowly the language matters started to pour over into social matters. It became clear to the Flemish that although they made up 60% of the population, they only occupied about 40% of jobs in the higher echelons. It also became clear that less Flemish people studied than Walloons.

Standard Dutch

At the same time a campaign was launched to make the public in Flanders better acquainted with the Standard Dutch in The Netherlands. In order to alleviate the suspicions that existed among the Flemish towards the Dutch the cultural differences between the two were stressed. Eventually, in 1946, a cultural agreement was signed between The Netherlands and Belgium. It meant that both would use the same spelling. In 1982 the Dutch Language Union was founded as a body working under the Dutch and Belgian (and later Flemish) Governments and is in charge of the spelling of the Dutch language.

The approach in Flanders to the Standard Dutch language in The Netherlands was made possible through education and the media. What also helped was the economic situation. The heavy industries in Wallonia fell apart and in Flanders new industries developed especially petrochemicals, and transport and harbour companies. Foreign investments settled in Flanders which led to a growing number of jobs. When Flanders became the richer part of Belgium, Dutch took over as prestigious language from French.

In 1963 Belgium was definitively divided into four language areas: Flemish, French, German and a bilingual Brussels. In this manner the territorial principle was then executed. There was still the problem of Brussels, which meant that the Flemish were not completely at ease with the new language laws of the 60s.

The Last Phase

1968 saw student riots in Leuven. All education had become Flemish in Flanders, except private Higher Education. The French-speaking Catholic University of Leuven had a Flemish-speaking section, but it was the French-speaking section which wanted to expand. Eventually the French-speaking section of the University had to move to Wallonia, to Louvain-La-Neuve. The Flemish section stayed in Leuven itself and expanded. The same happened to the Free University of Brussels, which separated into a Flemish University (VUB) and a French-speaking one (ULB).

The Belgian Constitution was altered in 1970 and the idea of a Unitarian State was amended. In 1993 the last changes were made and Belgium is now divided up in 4 regions: the Flemish region with about 6 million inhabitants; the Walloon region with about 3 million in habitants; the German-speaking region with 70.000 in habitants and the Brussels region with almost 1 million inhabitants. The country is further divided up into 3 Communities: The Flemish Community (Flanders and the Flemish-speaking inhabitants of Brussels); The Walloon Community (Wallonia and the French-speaking inhabitants of Brussels) and The German-speaking 'East Cantons'. Every region and Community has its own parliament and government. Matters such as Defence are still handled by the National Government, but other issues are dealt with by the Communities, such as: culture, education, language issues, health, economic development, foreign trade, energy, employment, infrastructure and traffic, urbanisation and housing, environment, and scientific research.

The Matter of Brussels

Brussels is in its origin a Flemish-speaking city. Now it is officially bilingual. It is situated completely in Flanders, about 10 km north of the language border. In Brussels itself Flemish and French-speakers live mixed together, and most of them would not even style themselves as Walloons or Flemish but as Brussels. Until the beginning of the 19th Century, the language situation in Brussels was the same as in any other Flemish city: the elite spoke French and the ordinary people spoke some dialect of Flemish. However, the "frenchification" of other cities has been eradicated, but not so in Brussels.

Brussels has always been a Capital city, even in the middle ages. The court, the aristocracy were all based in Brussels and were French-speaking. Especially during the French occupation of Belgium, many French-speakers migrated to Brussels and settled there. Brussels relied heavily on the Walloon economy and therefore all good jobs involved speaking French. Flemish was seen as the language of the poor and the retarded.

Since the 80s, Brussels is slowly becoming more and more Flemish-speaking due to certain laws that have been called in, which mean that the Flemish-Brussels people have right to half of the government jobs in Brussels. The fact that Flanders has become an economic force to be reckoned with, has also meant that Flemish has become more important in Brussels. The French-speaking inhabitants of Brussels have realised that in order to get jobs in the Capital, they need to learn Flemish.

There is a new threat to the rising popularity of Flemish in Brussels. Belgium has been breaking EU laws by not letting non-Belgians vote. This change has been long in coming because the matter of Brussels is worrying the Flemish. Most of the immigrant communities in Brussels (Africans, Mediterraneans and those working for the EU) all know or learn French. If they have a right to vote, then the French-speaking political parties in Brussels will dominate and the balance that has just about been achieved between the two languages in Brussels will be seriously disrupted again. For this reason, and because they have to follow the EU laws, the Flemish community is calling for a quota-based representation in the Parliament based on the first language of the indigenous population of Brussels. In this way, the Flemish representation should be guaranteed, even though the immigrants will be voting predominantly for French-speaking parties.

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The New Role of Information Technology

Slovenian Language in the Information Age

Bojan Petek
University of Ljubljana
Faculty of Natural Sciences and Engineering
Snezniska 5, 1000 Ljubljana, Slovenia
[bojan.petek@uni-lj.si]

Abstract

Slovenian is a Slavic language of 2 million people. Its dialectal structure is very rich, i.e. more than 40 dialects in seven dialect regions can be found on a territory of about 21,000 km^2 (for an excellent up-to-date overview, see Logar (1993)). Historically, the language has been challenged many times by oppression and neglect that actually strengthened its survival abilities by using it as a tool of resistance. After Slovenia became independent in 1991 the Standard Slovenian could not be listed as being endangered whereas some dialects might be or become (Logar, 1993). There is, however, another challenge that Slovenian language faces in the emerging information age—the state and maturity of its electronic resources and description that are necessary for the language to be used in a global village. This paper describes a project financially supported by the Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sport that tries to raise the awareness of opportunities brought by the EC Socrates/Erasmus initiative. Specifically, a starting point of the project is to access the existing curricula and research activities in Speech Communication Sciences in Slovenia. This information will be used to identify the missing yet necessary components in education and research to enable the Slovenian language a effective connection to the multilingual information age.

Slovenia

On the Sunny Side of the Alps

Slovenian territory of 20,251 km^2 (7,898 sq mi) is nested between Austria, Hungary, Croatia and Italy and represents about 2% of central Europe. Its landscape is predominantly hilly. More than 90% of its surface is over 300 m above the sea level. Forests cover about half of the country thereby making it one of the world's greenest oases mixed with fields, vineyards, orchards and pastures. The country has magnificent national parks in the high Alps in the north-west, idyllic lowlands in the east/north-east and Dinaric karst of a limestone region with caves in the south-west. Slovenia also embraces a tiny, about 50 km zone of Adriatic coastline in the south-west. Interior of the country is carved by the rivers Sava and Drava that flow into Danube, Soca that fall into the Adriatic sea, and Mura. In south the river Kolpa marks most of the border with Croatia.

Slovenians

Slovenians are a South Slavic nation of about 2 million population. A[illegible] census in 1991 1,727,018 people lived in Slovenia (at that time the 87,84% of all of its residents). Quite some Slovenians live abroad (1997 figures) : about 100,000 in Italy, 60,000 in Austria, 5,000 in Hungary, 35,000 in Croatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina, Macedonia, and Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. 160,000 and 32,000 immigrants of Slovenian descent have settled in North and South Americas, respectively, and about 30,000 in Australia.

Slavs have first settled Eastern Alps at the end of the 6th century. Populated territory was actually much bigger than the Slovenian state embraces today. The population identified themselves as *Sclavi* or *Sclavorum gens*. In early Middle Ages the Slavic name also accounted for the individual tribe names, e.g., *Karantanci* (Carinthians) or *Karniolci* (Carniolans). Opinions on etimology of the word *Sloven* are dispersed. The first hypothesis ties the stem **slov-* to the meaning of being heard (i.e., *beseda* 'word'). Another one attempts to explain the nation's name with a geographical name derived from an Indo-European **k'lou* (*umivati* 'to wash', *izpirati* 'to rinse') that is used for river names (Russian *Sluja*, Polish *Slawa* and Lithuanian *Šlavė*).

The new form *Slovenec* 'Slovenian' appeared in 11th century but was first mentioned in printed form by Primoz Trubar (*Slouenci*-1550, *slouenski jezig*-1555). Until beginning of 19th century the word *Slovenci* denoted Slovenian and Slavic, so there was an ambiguity in meaning when using this word. This was later overcome by importing (from the Czech language) the word *Slovan* 'Slav' that reset the terminology of *sloven-* to denote the proper and *slovan-* to denote all Slavic nations. At the same time the name *Slovenija* appeared that appeal to the Slovenian national revival which replaced the archaic words *Windische, windish* with *Slowenen, slowenisch*.

Languages in Slovenia

Historically, Slovenian ancestors interacted with Illyrians and Celts that settled around ancient Roman roads. Reminiscent to those times remained several regional, alpine and provincial names (e.g., *Krka, Kolpa, Krim, Ptuj, Kranj*). Other linguistic traces influenced by the nations that settled for a short period of time (e.g., Lombards) are rare and cannot be determined reliably.

In the past several islands of Germanic language appeared and gradually melted with the Slovenian language environment (e.g., in villages Spodnja and Zgornja Sorica, Gornji Grad). Until the WWII, however, the only Germanic minority near Kocevje that settled in the 14th century was preserved. Its educational system was well organized and cultivated consciousness of Germanic roots and spirit. German language had been an administrative language in Slovenian provinces for a long time, i.e., until the Austrian Habsburgs ceased to reign them in 1918.

Slovenian is now official language of the Republic of Slovenia. The language is also used by Slovenian minorities living in neighbouring countries of Italy, Austria and Hungary.

Slovenian constitution officially recognizes two nationally mixed regions, i.e., the municipalities of Koper/Izola/Piran and Lendava/Murska Sobota, where also the Standard Italian and Hungarian can officially be used. Use of Standard Italian has been strengthened in e.g., Piran, since the 16th century. This is at present further reinforced by educational system and communication media. Similarly, the Hungarian is increasingly being used in villages with mixed population near the Slovenian/Hungarian border.

Other minority languages in Slovenia are Croatian, Serbian, and Romany. Romany language is endangered. After the 1981 census 1,435 people lived in enclaves in Dolenjska (Lower Carniola), Bela Krajina, Zgornja Savinjska dolina and Prekmurje (Panonia). Romany was first mentioned in Slovenia in the 15th century. Romany groups in Slovenia have different roots, e.g., the Lower Carniola group moved from Croatia, the Upper Carniola minority from Austrian Sinti, and the Panonian from Hungary.

The Slovenian Language

Slovenian is a South Slavic language written in the Roman alphabet. It is grammatically complex including six cases, three genders and several tenses. Detailed discussion of the language is beyond the scope of the present paper, nevertheless, remarks on dialectal structure, Standard Slovenian (for a recent description from a phonetic viewpoint, see Sustarsic et. al., 1995; Petek et. al.,1996; Petek and Sustarsic, 1997) and the challenges it faces in the Digital Age are outlined.

Slovenian Dialects

Slovenian language is undoubtedly the richest Slavic language in view of dialectal variation (Logar, 1993; Zorko 1995). Seven major dialect regions including more than 40 dialects could be identified on the area of about 21,000 km^2. This research avenue has systematically been explored by seminal work of Professor Fran Ramovs (1931, 1935) and Professor Tine Logar (1993).

Standard Slovenian

Standard Slovenian is not endangered. Looking for various levels of classification for languages with uncertain future the following scheme was found. Languages were originally divided into five categories - a sixth, *potentially endangered languages*, was added later:

1. *extinct languages* other than ancient ones,
2. *nearly extinct languages* with maximally tens of speakers, all elderly,
3. *seriously endangered languages* with a more substantial number of speakers but practically without children among them,
4. *endangered languages* with some children speakers at least in part of their range but decreasingly so,
5. *potentially endangered languages* with a large number of children speakers but without an official or prestigious status,
6. *not endangered languages* with safe transmission of language to new generations.

This paper advocates for a refined definition of the 5th category, i.e., *potentially endangered languages* are

- those with a large number of children speakers but without an official or prestigious status,

or

- those that lack the electronic description (integrated phonetic, speech and natural language processing technologies) to enter the Information Age on equal foot with larger community languages.

Slovenian Language in the Information Age

Despite the fact that Slovenian language is not among endangered languages it faces a serious challenge with regards to its use in the Digital Age. More coherent research and development efforts need to be put into all levels of its electronic description.

Very large speech and natural language processing resources (databases) for Slovenian language are non-existent as of the time of this writing. While many components could easily be transferred from the state-of-the-art technologies of larger community languages (e.g., speech recognition systems) most of the work considering natural language processing has to be mastered nationally.

Therefore, computational linguistics in Slovenia has to be advanced and strongly supported at all levels of the decision making. Non-existent curricula in computational linguistics in Slovenia should be overcome. Links with Slovenian academic - industrial partners on language technologies need to be established in order to trigger serious development projects addressing Slovenian language in relationship with the other languages of the global village.

The EC Socrates-Erasmus Programme

The European Community action in the field of higher education that aims to improve the quality of university education is the Erasmus chapter of the Socrates programme. Several activities are underway, i.e., joint development of curricula, Thematic Networks, development of systems of recognition of study periods completed abroad (the European Credit Transfer System - ECTS), students and teachers exchange, etc. Currently, 15 Member States of the European Union, Norway, Iceland, Liechtenstein, and 6 associated countries in Central and Eastern Europe participate in the program, thereby pawing the way for an effective 'European dimension' in higher education. Another recent spirit in the program is 'Bringing students to Europe, bringing Europe to all students' that suggests universities to add a European dimension in their curricula for students who do not participate directly in the mobility programme. In December 1997 Erasmus has celebrated its first 10 years of achievements.

In order to cope with a rapid change and need of a lifelong professional adjustment dictated by the dawn of Information Age, Erasmus promotes mobility - exchange of teaching staff and students. This is to ensure an effective dissemination of information that is a prerequisite for securing a long-term perspective for Europe.

In addition to the mobility action a transnational curriculum development represents an important part of the Erasmus. This also includes new opportunities made feasible by Information Technology and World Wide Web, e.g., open and distance learning.

Socrates Thematic Network in Phonetics and Speech Communication

At the time of writing 34 Thematic Networks (TNs) have been selected for the Community support. One of them, listed under the subject area of Humanities and Social Sciences, and coordinated by Dr Gerrit Bloothooft, Department of Linguistics, Universiteit Utrecht, is entitled 'Speech Communication Sciences' (Bloothooft et. al., 1995; Bloothooft et. al., 1997).

The aims of this TN are:

- *Curriculum development*: actions include identification of the contents of existing curricula in the area of Speech Communication Sciences in order to develop the European recommendations for these curricula.
- *Curriculum integration*: Speech Communication Sciences can generally be divided into three areas, i.e., Phonetics, Spoken Language Engineering, and Speech and Language Therapy. Curricula of these sub-areas could potentially benefit from a closer interaction still not exercised today.
- *Development of teaching techniques using digital media*: new courses, demonstrations of existing systems, speech and natural language processing resources can effectively be exchanged or promoted over the Internet.
- *Development of techniques for lifelong learning*: academia, clinical and industrial staff needs an effective specialist training to cope with a need for rapid update of existing knowledge.
- *Promotion of links between academia and industry*: both 'ivory-tower' and 'smokey chimney' members can benefit from mutual collaboration in education, development and research.

Work on the project is well defined. In total 11 working groups (WGs) have to complete one-year tasks that are reported and discussed at the conference (organized in September). The conference also serves as a kick-off meeting for the WGs effective for the following year.

In September 1998 the TN will enter in its third year with a theme 'Education in Speech Communication Sciences in the 21st Century'. It is envisioned that the following WGs become active:

- WG 9: with the aim to propose specialist training of teachers, clinical and industrial staff.
- WG 10: envisioned are recommendations for joint courses and curricula.
- WG 11: the aim is to discuss education in Speech Communication Sciences for the first decade of the 21st century.

It is important that excellent work currently underway is going to be continued under umbrella 'Towards a Europe of Knowledge' adopted by the EC in November 1997. This extends Socrates to the period from January 1, 2000 to December 31, 2004.

Connecting Humanities and Technical Sciences in Slovenia

In fall 1996 Slovenian Ministry of Education and Sport (MES) issued a call for proposals considering curriculum development at all levels of education. As response to this call a project entitled 'Development of the Higher Education Curricula in Human Language Technology in the Framework of Socrates/Erasmus' was submitted to the MES in early November 1996. The project proposal has additionally been referenced with the letters of recommendation from colleagues with Utrecht University, Professor Steven Krauwer (ELSNET) and Dr Gerrit Bloothooft (Socrates/Erasmus TN *Speech Communication Sciences*).

All active groups in Slovenia working in the area of Speech Communication Sciences were invited to participate and the majority responded positively to the initiative. Dr Breda Pogorelec, professor with the Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures, Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, has been selected for a project coordinator. Initially, the project proposal has not been granted—possibly due to a very small total budget available. After energetic negotiations by the project coordinator with the MES the project proposal has finally been approved in summer 1997.

Aims and Objectives of the Project

The project aims are in spirit very similar to those outlined in the previous section. Briefly, the main tasks to be completed are

- An overview of the current state of curricula in Speech Communication Sciences in Slovenia. The report will cover curricula currently offered at both Slovenian Universities (University of Ljubljana and University of Maribor).
- An overview of research activities in the area of Speech Communication sciences in Slovenia.
- Recommendations based on the analysis of domestic activities in education and research in the global perspective of forthcoming European dimension in higher education.

One of the important emphasis not widely applied so far in the Slovenian higher education is the development of the ECTS-the European Credit Transfer System. The credit transfer system is actually a prerequisite for connecting the Slovenian Universities/Institutes to the global flow of knowledge and information exchange. Therefore, strong emphasis is put on the ECTS in this project as well.

Current State of the Project

Project outcomes after the first year were :

- An overview of curricula offered by both Slovenian universities. The point not addressed so far remains curriculum offered for students of Speech and Language Therapy. This should be completed in the future. Detailed report will reviewing Slovenian curricula be given at a later date-hopefully within a meeting of the TN Speech Communication Sciences. A striking point from the overview is that most current Slovenian courses focus on (speech) signal processing part of the subject, i.e., specialized courses addressing the area of Natural Language Processing in particular and its integration with the areas of Speech Processing and Phonetics Sciences still need to be developed.
- Faculty of Arts, University of Ljubljana, became an Associate Member of the TN Speech Communication Sciences (Bloothooft et.al., 1997, pp. 147).
- Initiative to establish a Language Technologies Centre with University of Ljubljana was written. This work is explained more in detail in the next section.

Initiative to found a Language Technologies Centre with the University of Ljubljana

It was a privilege for the present author to complete a 2 year undergraduate research in the US (School of Computer Science, CMU, PA) and a 10-month postdoctoral research in one of the European centers of excellence in Speech Communication Sciences (Center for PersonKommunication, Aalborg University, DK). Experiences on how to conduct coherent research within own research environment while maintaining friendly yet competitive collaboration with peer colleagues from other research groups remained a valuable guidline to organize one's professional life.

What Slovenian education and research in the area of Speech Communication Sciences could potentially benefit from is closer collaboration, i.e., within the country as well as globally. Nevertheless, the latter shows some recent improvements but the former still leaves a vast space for further improvements.

To address this goal an initiative to establish the Language Technologies Centre has been written and discussed with the Ministry of Science and Technology for a possible initial support. Main objectives of the Centre as envisioned in February 1997 were :

- To establish a forum for intensive collaboration among humanistic and technical research groups at both universities and Slovenian institutes.
- To assure the critical mass of equipment and mobility of students and staff to support the excellence in research and education.
- To develop higher education curricula in Speech Communication Sciences in Slovenia based on international comparison and collaboration.
- To actively participate in exchange of students and staff on domestic and international level.
- To promote contacts between Slovenian academia and industrial partners in the area of Language Technologies.

Unfortunatelly, this initiative still hasn't yet got the support necessary to promote a faster growth of Language Technologies addressing the Slovenian language. Therefore, further efforts are envisioned to finally reach this goal.

Conclusions

Slovenian language is at present not endangered. In view of the dawn of Information Age and the lack of appropriate language resources (e.g., speech databases, corpuses for natural language processing, mature natural language processing technologies), and virtually non-existent curricula in computational linguistics, its future use in the Digital Age is not secure.

Remark potentially endangered language in view of the underdeveloped electronic description of Slovenian has to be avoided by a more determined national and international collaboration.

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Individuals, Cultures and Telecommunication Technology:
An Inquiry into another one of the Effects and Defects of E-Mail

R. C. MacDougall
State University Of New York at Albany, Departments of Communication and Philosophy
1400 Washington Avenue, Albany, NY USA
rmacdoug@csc.albany.edu

Abstract

This paper considers the performance of electronic mail as an encoding/decoding apparatus. Several members of a traditional Iroquois community are using E-mail with increasing frequency. However, users report a very real and perceivable tension concerning the way they want things to "come out," "sound," or "feel."" The larger study from which this paper is drawn concerns the overarching system of perceptions and behaviors that have been described by individuals at the research site concerning features of the Netscape 3.0 E-mail environment. The study examines one feature of the E-mail system being employed, and reactions to it by the Iroquois (predominantly Mohawk) informants: Linear / Sequential Processing and Decoding.

Introduction

Human symbol use is both socially constructed and socially constitutive. As social constructions, symbols are conventional and arbitrary, bearing no necessary relation to their meaning or uses. As socially constitutive, however, symbols represent environmental conditions, or worlds in which people inhabit and which they accept as real or essential, rather than arbitrary or, ultimately, groundless.

A number of theorists have pointed out that people who make use of different symbolic technologies may have unique modes of cognition as well as fundamentally distinct ways of experiencing life. For instance, Eisenstein (1979), Ong (1982) and others have posited that people living before Gutenberg experienced a phenomenology essentially different from that of a modern westerner. If this is true, it is conceivable that contemporaries with different familiarity and exposure to communication technologies may experience similarly contrasting phenomenologies.

This report, which stems from one year of ethnographic fieldwork, presents data on several Mohawk Indians and their interaction with the medium of electronic mail.

Okwahle, the leader of the community of Traditional Mohawk I have studied has expressed his belief that something on the order of two-thirds of a people's culture is bound up in their language. Clearly for him, the language contains a great deal of power and energy. More specifically, the oral language holds such power and energy. Okwahle points out that "the way we talk paints a picture of the world that is very ancient, very sacred, and very special. For some Iroquois there are only one or two dozen native speakers remaining. When they die, that way of seeing the world will die."

Several members of the community - including Okwahle - have begun to employ electronic mail to communicate with friends in neighboring communities, as well as total strangers around the globe. During the course of my fieldwork, it appeared to me that these members of the community were having trouble with certain aspects of their E-mail system: there was a tension between their more typical mode of communication (oral language) and the demands of the machine.

The data considered below are in English due to the fact that I am not nearly a fluent enough speaker of Mohawk to consider that data appropriately. The absence of Iroquois data do not invalidate the present effort. Subjects' willing participation in, and encouragement of, this study has allowed me to glean many valuable insights into their experience. In fact, the vast majority of the E-mail these individuals have produced to date are in English to begin with. Moreover, the cultural view embodied in their native language nonetheless permeated their English usage as well.

The central notion in this realm of

communication research is a distinction between primary and secondary communication media. Media are primary in the sense that the grammars for their usage are learned early in life, usually through tacit socialization. Other media are secondary, being learned later in life, often through explicit instruction, and with some dependency on the earlier learned primary media (Birdwhistell, 1970; Gumpert and Cathcart, 1985). These terms are, of course, not absolute. A technology such as the computer can be a primary medium for one generation and a secondary medium for another, usually older, one (cf. Gumpert and Cathcart, 1985).

Now obviously, the Mohawk participating in this research already have a symbolic medium which is presumably structuring their cognitive processes in certain ways. That medium is their preferred, and predominant mode of interaction – namely, real-time face-to-face talk. One reason we might detect problems or incongruencies is that the computer software they are utilizing is in fact a secondary medium for these people. This secondary medium is coming into contact with the primary medium (face-to-face talk). Due to their particularly deep level of enmeshment in the primary medium, this interface seems to be creating perturbations within and between the rule systems or underlying structures of the respective media

This distinction between primary and secondary media, therefore, suggests that the experience of the very same medium is not derived from the medium itself, but rather, it is the relative sequencing in which one gains fluency in respective media that more reliably accounts for the experiences one has with that particular medium. The suggests, furthermore, that it is a relative, not absolute distinction. Thus, for many children today, the television and even the Internet is a primary medium. They see, experience and begin to learn the structure of those media before they learn the structure of the linguistic concomitant.

At the same time however we can see how - for someone who was reared on print and radio - television can be a distinctly secondary medium. It is not necessarily by virtue of their being Mohawk that the medium of E-mail is secondary, rather, it is the reality of their being Mohawk firmly rooted in an predominantly oral enclave.

Of value here is the perspective offered by Bavelas, et al. (1997) who, using face-to-face/oral interaction as their baseline, suggest that other communication media are or are not impoverished in various ways. For example, they suggest that:

> "the natural origins of communication are in face-to-face dialogue. Dialogue is not only our first form of communication, it remains our most common in everyday life. ..we have tried to show that face-to-face dialogue has features that are often missing or highly limited in other forms of communication – hence our suggestion that dialogue might serve as an appropriate standard for other communication systems" (p. 23).

The problems that I have observed Mohawk individuals having with E-mail seem to derive from their assumptions about how communication operates, which in turn seem to derive from the importance of face-to-face interaction using oral language. So in addition to Bavelas and associates' concern for an ideal type, we need to be looking at the interfaces of communication media and the ways in which such interfaces alter the representational performance of these media from the perspective of the individuals involved.

When representation is the focus, emphasis should be placed upon whatever incongruencies arise when users confront that symbolic medium, as well as any ways the medium enables and/or constrains the activity of the human user. By the term "incongruency," I mean to point to a perceived problem with the technology; something which prompts a user to pause, and even question what is going on.

A New and Incongruent Experience

It is conceivable that the medium of E-mail provides traditional (i.e. largely oral-based) Mohawk users with a way to think about their thinking in a manner never before possible. Issues of identity, personal reflection, community and consciousness have emerged during interviews.

While practicing what they describe to be a traditional Mohawk lifestyle as People of the Longhouse, several members of the community are literate and have been using typewriters and/or word processing technology for most of their adult lives. In fact, the leader of the group was using a DOS-based word processor on an 8086 IBM PC as early as 1984. Another member of the community, a man in his mid- twenties, has been using word processing, spreadsheets and a full graphics station including color scanner and fax for nearly five years. But while significant, the particulars of residents' familiarity with a host of computer technologies are of secondary importance.

What should be stressed is that they utilize these technologies for a variety of practical ends - ranging from letter writing, business transactions, bulk mailings, as well as the creation of visual art and poetry. The critical point is when the group began using writing in conjunction with near instantaneous electronic communication technology (i.e. fax, and E-mail - although E-mail alone will be considered here).

It should be noted that about two-thirds of the data gathered record the activities of one individual - the leader of the community as well as the primary E-mail user. Okwahle's usage charts a fairly constant progression.

Initial observations and interviews revealed that users took notice of the linear nature of the computer program. They made explicit reference to the way the words follow in succession from left to right, and down the screen. Despite his experience with first-generation word processors, the primary user was immediately fascinated by the conjunction of this scrolling feature and the novelty of a fresh message. This ability to scroll back up, and down a lengthy message just received was perceived to be also different somehow from the *re-readability* of a paper letter. The descriptions provided seem to fix upon the active nature of the presentation - literally, how the lines of text themselves appear to move about the surface of the screen.

This perceived activity, along with the subject heading and its automatic prompts (MacDougall, 1998), made an immediate impression on users. For instance, upon experiencing the prompts to enter a subject, users first reported detecting a kind of liveliness or sentience emanating from the machine. This perception has caused a straightforward set of responses. Users tend to "satisfy" the machine, as it were. They enter a subject rather than send off what has been described as anything ranging from a "nameless," potentially "confusing," or even "unworthy" (i.e. illegitimate) message.

The ability to scroll around within the text of a contiguous message has also contributed to this perception of liveliness. Users have commented variously upon "the way these words just keep coming and coming, like there's someone down there [below the screen] sending them up." As with the subject prompts, which users made sense of by granting a kind of sentience, the active nature of the reading process was perceived to be not only more participatory than a paper letter, but also more "real." This heightened level of participation prompted one of the younger users at the community to comment upon the way in which:

> "that helps me hear what the other person was trying to say. You know? As I move down with the arrow key it's as if the words are coming to me then and there. I don't see them until its time to hear - kind of like when you got him right there with you. I guess that just seems more real to me." [1]

The introduction of E-mail has potentially altered the manner by which some of these traditional Mohawk have been processing information. Several of the descriptions provided hold great meaning and import for the reporting individuals. They tell of ways in which thoughts can be corrupted, or made untrue. They tell of pounding temples and thick-heads. They tell of what it feels like to be a Traditional Mohawk sitting in front of a computer screen.

For all practical purposes - unlike standard letters - the electronic message arrives at the "door" of the recipient as one's finger releases the *Return* key. The transmission (that is, the initial outgoing portion of that interpretive cycle) is composed and received essentially without interruption. To quote one of the Mohawk users, "*we can get things done at great distances as if we were there in the flesh.*"

An Odd Sense of Self

With this knowledge comes an awareness that thoughts, words, and information can have an almost immediate impact on the receiver. It is this knowledge that has prompted some of the users at the community to, in effect, artificially heighten their sense of self, as well as their awareness of themselves as communicators.

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[1] The act of reading will not be considered any further now. There is plenty of evidence supporting the notion that the way persons come to or acquire information plays a central role in the way they construct the reality around them (Eisenstein, 1979; Meyrowitz, 1985; Turkle, 1984; Greenfield, 1995; McClamrock, 1995; Turkle, 1995).

The negative connotations of this find warrant when Will, a young man who uses E-mail periodically, explains:

> "I see what it is there that I'm writing and I often get a little outside of my self. When this happens, you know it's really a kind of scheming. This is a powerful new thing. We need to watch out because it can change minds. Just like if the other person isn't thinking it can really change their mind too."

Will's emphasis on the mind-changing effects of the technology recalls a time three hundred years ago. A story of this past was relayed to me last autumn by Okwahle. Dubbed "The Mind Changers," the tale tells of a number of artifacts and practices that were introduced by the English, French and Dutch explorers and settlers that wrought havoc on all native groups contacted during that period. These included alcohol, the bible, playing cards and the violin. The feared effects of the first three needn't be recounted here. Okwahle suggests that we "just look at the reservations and you can see what has resulted there."[2]

Indeed, follow-up questioning revealed that what Will implied when he said "if the other person isn't thinking," is that one needs to be careful what they read online. At least three people I have spoken with are of the opinion that, where computers are concerned "there is a lot of untruth in [or perhaps *out*] there." As we'll discover, there is some sense in which these users are also wary of the incoming messages their E-mail server offers up. Let us see if we can't get at some of what informs this perspective. One part-time (summer) resident elaborates:

> "This thing [the screen] is meant to help you think. That's it. But the problem, you know, with all this is that I begin to think a lot about myself right there. It [the screen] helps too much. I begin thinkin' about myself as the guy thinkin'. I'll bet in the end that's not too good, 'cause when you start thinkin' about yourself like that you just end up thinkin' too much. You think what the other guy might be thinkin' and that's when things can really get bad. It can go wrong. You can't do that. The words get sort of twisted you know? So I just try to write my letter . . . all at once, without too much stoppin' and thinkin' and stoppin' and thinkin'. Now, I know you're supposed to go back and see what you said or wait a while before writing some more but something's wrong with that."

This is an interesting twist. Initial interviews suggested users were displeased with the way the processor constrains an otherwise free-flowing, associative habit of thought. Much to my surprise, this ended up not quite being the case. Indeed, the individuals I have discussed this with have become more comfortable with what I have come to call the *real-time potential* of E-mail. As a whole, they have opted to use the medium as a continuous messaging system. In effect, they have chosen to ignore what many of us here in the mainstream value highly: the ability to suspend a message in midstream.

There have emerged two rather distinct perceptions of, and reactions to, the linear/sequential demand of the medium. Whereas the leader of the community continues to demonstrate a very direct, real-time interface with the machine (an interface which he reports to be a consequence of his being unable to separate his thoughts from his speech), other users on site account for and approve of this perceived linearity and relatively direct sequencing in another way.

The several younger members who have some experience with the medium describe a kind of pressure to maintain pace with the machine in an effort to avoid the uncomfortable sense of self-consciousness they feel coming over them as the message becomes more thought-out, contrived, or, as one man put it, "a kind of scheming." In a kind of *oral emulation*, it would seem that users attempt to maintain as best they can while on E-mail, the kind of free thinking or open-flow cognitive process that takes place in real-time, face-to-face talk.

This should not be confused the potentially non-hierarchical or decision-tree-free kind of thinking that may capture some of what it is to have traditional Mohawk experience.

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[2]. As for the violin - this instrument came to symbolize the decadence and superfluity of European society. Thought to rob the Indian of his ancient rhythms, the violin emphasized the flighty melodies and contrived world of the Whiteman. This, along with other string and wind instruments were seen as suppressive, and stifling. Together they drowned out the sacred drums and the cadence that lent meaning and reason to Indian life. Okwahle's message is straightforward enough. Traditional Mohawk are always on the alert for things that alter one's natural state of consciousness. This includes a vigilant acceptance of things like E-mail.

What these individuals are describing here is simply the awareness that when one does stop and take too much notice of one's message-in-progress, there is a tendency to "see and hear" oneself in the screen. In other words, the visual bias is repeatedly cited as something bothersome. "When you're having a talk you can't sit there and ask them to wait for you to figure out the best things to say. You gotta come out with it then and there. So I guess that's what I try to do on the E-mail," explains C.J., an iron worker in his late twenties from the reservation who visits the community during the summer months and was just beginning to experiment with the medium last fall. C.J. uses E-mail almost exclusively to maintain correspondence with an ex-schoolmate from the technical college. Will, the resident potter, graphic design artist and painter fills out the notion of "scheming," and in particular, what it means not to scheme:

> "This is not just with computers though. When I do my art too - I think this is similar to the way I've always looked at other things - magazines, outside, nature, colors, and then shapes, and I don't remember thinking about anything in particular, it's just getting things down, I know inside of my head those ideas are coming out, but I can't really focus real good on those ideas. Once in a while I'll do a sketch. Just like on the computer. Sometimes I admit I do take a day or two to write a letter. Or I'll paint a sketch. Not very often I'll do that. I'm usually just real free - throw those colors on the canvas, mix 'em all up and then think of somethin' I'll put on there, and then maybe I'll sketch it every now and then, and you know sometimes those don't come out so good. So maybe I'll just go. About three quarters of them I'll just paint freely - not think about too much. With the rest I'll really think about what I'm painting or writing."

A number of resident users have described something similar. C.J. talks about "[n]ot spending too much time. You know thinking and thinking. Like over analyzing. Because some of the others have said there's something to that with the way Okwahle talks. I don't watch him much but I know he don't write speeches ahead of time because he wants them to come off clean and true. He wouldn't even think of it. I think that's similar."

Reflecting upon his experience with art (pottery in particular) in essential juxtaposition to the rigidity of E-mail, Will claims to be wary, and sometimes weary, of the latter. Nonetheless, he acknowledges the utility of E-mail and a number of other computer applications, including word processing and an advanced graphic design program he uses three or four times a week.

But, again, where the utility of these technologies do attract these Mohawk users, they seem to recognize what that level of interaction with the machine might do to them. We see now how this perceived feature of linearity and direct sequence has led to some very interesting and creative responses on users' behalf. Despite the lack of fading, recursivity and repetition within even relatively short messages (10 to 15 lines), the user's communications appear cumbersome and at odds with the format of the message from what might be termed a more "mainstream" perspective. Many messages might even be mistaken for one half of a telephone, or face to face exchange. At one sitting, a user was typing a return message to a correspondent from the reservation. During the composition, the buzzer for the downstairs front door began sounding at regular intervals. Consider this message:

> Hello there Les,
>
> Just a warning to you I am not yet too good at this computer.
> The book is almost complete except for a small article yet to
> be written by Watte about the Six Nations Mohawks who were
> the last to leave the valley. The book was not meant to be a
> book , but was supposed to be a pamphlet. When we began
> gathering the articles and information the pamphlet just wanted
> to be a book instead. The book will belong to the Lamastjoialake
> community. The proceeds will help the people here to continue
> our village. It will be one of the projects that will help promote our self-sufficiency. I have to go down to the
> craft store Les, someone is buzzing. I'll talk more with you soon.
>
> onen,
> Okwahle

There is a similar real-time feel hovering about most E-mailings at the community. Despite other's advice to even leave E-mail messages aside for a day or two, Okwahle wants to get his message off before going on to other things. Consider this pointer from a friend living several hours north of the community:

> Sekon Okwahle,
>
> I have to be honest. When I first wrote I expected to find someone else at another location handling the communication for you. I was delightfully surprised to see you personally responding back. As they say, it warmed the cockles of the heart to see your personal touch on the message. It's good to see you are on the net. It is a lot cheaper and quicker communication than traveling. Of course, less taxing on you as well. It
> not as quick as the telephone, but its much cheaper. The extra thing I like about e-mail is you have the time to prepare your thoughts on the computer before sending your message. Sometimes, I leave an e-mail in draft
> form for days before sending it. That way you avoid sending a 'flamer'.

Okwahle had no idea what the term *flamer* implied. I had to explain the concepts of "flamer" and "flaming" to him. However, even after elucidating why people usually avoid sending those types of verbal affronts, Okwahle still saw no need to prepare his thoughts in this manner. In other instances Okwahle has received messages approximating what has more recently been called the "telegraphic E-mail style." The example below illustrates:

> Hey there Okwahle.
> Good to get your message.
> Yeah, the storm was real bad alright.
> We'll be heading up there soon.
> Say hello to everybody then.
> onen, Jean

Likewise, Okwahle finds this style to be inauthentic, or untrue. "I see what he [Jean] is trying to do. He's trying to be fast and simple, but I don't think I like that too much. You might as well tell me something I don't already know."

The critique should be well taken. With E-mail and virtually all other forms of mediated communication, many of us here *in the main* tend – far and wide – to adopt this punctuated, telegraphic style. Be it pressures at work, or just last minute intentions to get a message off, many of us have taken to this much more impersonal form of communication. The reasons seem justified for most. It is short, to the point, and just plain practical.

But this move toward practicality, according to several of the members at the community, will have to result in a colder, sterner, more sterile interaction. And here also is where comparisons with the native language become fruitful. As the leader of the group has expressed, it is not merely the format of E-mail messages that can contribute to this coldness. Some of the harshness is within the English language itself.

For Okwahle, the Mohawk language holds the key to inner feeling. For instance, as the first example he mischievously provided me last August illustrates, the expression (actually a term) implying sexual arousal (i.e. "having the hots," or "feeling horny") actually say's to the hearer "I am hungry for you in a sexual way such that if I don't have you now I will surely die." In comparison to this, English is a stern, almost overly-functional language according to Okwahle. The story about how he used to fear death as a little boy when he heard it talked about through the Western/English lens was relayed to me through watering eyes. You just say "when people die we bury them." For Okwahle, "all one feels at this is the death itself." But he explains how life really is richer, and warmer than that. In the original language we are told that "we must prepare our loved one to be wrapped in the green, leafy field blanket of our earth mother."

So Okwahle resists the kind of distillation embedded in the English language itself. At the same time, however, he resists the logical sequence of the written from, as well as the ability to suspend messages by simply typing like he talks - or close to that. But the aim in all of this seems to remain the same. No matter the context, they want to liven up the interaction. However, many mainstreamers (or what might be termed "assimilated users") resist the linearity in just the way Okwahle's friend suggests. They compose messages over a period of days. This is a practice radically at odds to what Okwahle prefers. He sees E-mail as serious and important, but in a way different from his more assimilated friends.

We can now draw out a preliminary taxonomy of E-mail styles. Several strategies arise when we take a cross-sectional look at E-mail use on and off the settlement:

Telegraphic: short, punctuated style which works within the linearity of the processor. In the mainstream this is most prevalent on college campuses, in businesses, on LANs or inter-office systems and, somewhat counter-intuitively perhaps, even between the closest of friends.

Oral/Real-Time: Okwahle exemplifies this style. While he abides by the linearity and continuous sequence of the processor (uses E-mail in real-time), he resists the logical -"if-then" - feature of writing in general as well as the telegraphic. His style of E-mailing is noticeably different from some of the more assimilated Native users I've come across.

Suspended/Attenuated: Messages are composed over a period of time - often several days. User typically adopts this style/strategy to enhance his/her image within the medium, and/or to avoid "flaming" and a variety of other *tele-faux pas*.

Discussion

A number of observations can be made which contribute to an explanation for some of the local perceptions of the medium that is E-mail. While less isolated from the mainstream world than the several dozen Amish families living atop of the escarpment about 5 miles Northwest of the community, there is still a very small amount of communication media in use during a typical day at the Mohawk community. This is in part due to the daily activities underlying life at the community, such as tilling, planting, animal care and general maintenance of the fields and other, (primarily physical) work requiring fairly high levels of mobility. Only when individuals are working indoors, or in an area where they remain within the same several square meters (as when the horses are being tended, or a tractor serviced), does one find them utilizing a radio or tape player. In fact, these other electronic media serve a strictly ambient function in such instances. This is not at all different from radio or television use in the mainstream American household.

But with the computer - and E-mail specifically - there are some fairly specific dynamics at work at the site. For instance, the linear format of the written language itself is having one effect. It forces logical structure onto users' thought processes. The Mohawk have repeatedly expressed their concern that this is a marked force. For them seeing their words brings with it a felt need to make sense and be logical that goes beyond that experienced when talking. But we need to understand that "logical" is this case does not necessarily implying greater *sense*. Rather, it implies more accordance with the strict logical form of the proposition or syllogism. The Mohawk I have talked to here already seem to be keenly aware of this.

Their descriptions are telling. Users have noticed that their way of seeing the world is altered at a very active level when mediation includes any kind of literal, logical, highly structured representation. As we have seen, numerous accounts include descriptions of discomfort, and general unease. It is as if the world is being parsed out or chunked in ways unnatural or unreal. The characterizations tend to fall along these lines. There is an underlying rhetoric of artificiality, or inauthenticity in users' accounts of their interaction with the medium.

As Greenfield (1995) points out, "[a] central aspect of human cognitive processes is representational competence. Sigel and Cocking (1977) define representational competence as the capability of the individual to comprehend the *equivalence* of various modes of representation. At the same time, they see the development of an understanding of various media of representation, such as pictures, verbalizations, and gestures, as part of representational competence." (p. 161).

The idea here is that each medium carries very distinct design features such that it presents certain kinds of information efficiently and accurately, and other kinds with difficulty and hence, rather poorly. Each medium therefore affords certain instances to build up particular kinds of representations - certain ways of perceiving the environment. "As a consequence, each medium stimulates different kinds of representational processes. Therefore, a second aspect of representational competence must be the ability of an individual to comprehend differences between different modes of representation; such comprehension involves a metacognitive level of awareness" (ibid.).

The Mohawks participating in this research project have acknowledged their distaste for the feeling of heightened self-awareness, and so do their best to avoid or suppress that. That being so, it is reasonable to think that there must therefore be an active level of self-reflexivity at work if they are in fact able to resist the mechanisms described above. In Greenfield, then, we find an acceptable description of the way particular channels may alter subsequent "pictures being drawn." So there is a kind of media determinism at work here.

However, I will finally urge that we dub this a soft-lined media determinism since, as we have already seen, users exploit the opportunity to resist these formative properties of the medium. While difficult, and often taxing on the user, they are able to exert their own agency while interacting with the machine. The meaning of the interaction is not decided - as it were - by the medium itself. As far as these Mohawk are concerned, gaining fluency, or "literacy," in this particular media seems to lead one to think about one's thinking in an unprecedented fashion. The experience is a heightened sense of self. What is more, the medium of E-mail works on these people in a manner they would rather avoid. Nonetheless, they have chosen to use it. Functionally, the screen in front of the user - along with the knowledge of speed - exerts the weight of "hearing" oneself as a communicator in these new ways just described.

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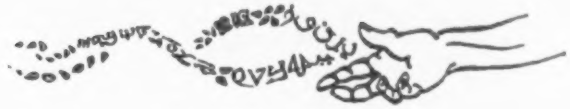

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Taking Stock

Strategies for Doing the Impossible

Mari Rhydwen
Murdoch University, Perth, Australia.
[rhydwen@central.murdoch.edu.au]

Abstract

Many people know nothing about endangered languages or about the implications of the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity. Since knowledge about the loss of biological diversity seems to be far more widespread, this paper documents the links between work on biological and linguistic diversity and explores how strategies for environmental work can be applied in language maintenance.

What people know about endangered languages

Non-linguists sometimes ask me about my work and want to know what I actually do. When I tell them about endangered languages and explain the extent and rapidity with which they are being lost I get one of two reactions. Most people have no idea that there are estimated to be six and a half thousand languages spoken worldwide and are shocked to find that up to 90% are considered to be severely endangered and liable to disappear within the next century (Krauss, 1995). Conversely, some people are puzzled by why I care about the loss of languages since they believe that it would be better if everyone spoke the same language. People who respond like this are invariably monolingual English speakers who assume that if there is to be one world language it will be English.

In Australia, people's attitudes towards endangered languages are often coloured by their attitude towards Aboriginal people for it is indigenous languages that are severely threatened and the focus of debate about language loss. Despite the polarisation of people's responses to language loss, what they share in common is evidence of a strong emotional reaction to the issue. Yet these responses are rarely based on sound knowledge of the underlying issues. Otherwise well-informed people are generally unaware that languages are endangered worldwide or, if they are, have generally not thought about the possible implications.

This contrasts with general awareness of the loss of biological diversity. Most people know that the logging of rainforests is a controversial environmental issue and that pandas and tigers are threatened species. If the extent to which languages are endangered were known only to linguists, who circulated this information only amongst themselves, it seemed that nothing would ever change. Consequently I began to wonder what environmentalists[1] did to raise consciousness about the loss of biological diversity, to effect changes in community attitudes and to lobby successfully for changes in policy.

What environmentalists and people working on endangered languages have in common

When people are unaware that languages are endangered there is little chance of gaining support for initiatives like language maintenance programmes. Thus, although teachers, linguists and Aboriginal people involved with bilingual programmmes in Aboriginal communities are aware of the problems arising when children are discouraged from speaking their own languages, the wider public is often unenthusiastic about subsidising such programmes. The same people may be quite happy to recycle their newspapers and other garbage in order to protect the environment. Environmentalists have managed to put their concerns on the mainstream agenda and successfully persuade people that environmental issues affect us all.[2]

Work on endangered languages is similar to that of environmentalists in several respects. First, there is the shared content, a concern with preventing loss of diversity. Moreover both biological and cultural diversity are viewed as being beneficial to everyone and not merely of value to those who are directly endangered. Secondly, both are areas of work which are ideological. Those of us who are involved with endangered languages cannot pretend not to have opinions and feelings about them. Globally there is now a strong tide of opinion against our aims, as manifested in Proposition 227 in California[3] the removal of core funding for Language Australia,[4] and the recent rise to prominence of the One Nation Party[5]. There is a need to develop effective strategies both at a personal and group level to deal with working in an area which arouses hostility. Thirdly, anyone who works on issues like conservation or social justice at a time of apparently inexorable progress towards an economically rationalised world is prone to burnout, to being psychically overwhelmed by the attempt to do the impossible.

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[1] I use the term 'environmentalist' very broadly here as shorthand for anyone involved with environmental issues, whether they use that label for themselves or not. For detailed discussion of the differences within the broad green movement see Marshall 1992.

[2] Currently there are more Green members of the upper houses of state and federal parliaments in Australia that there have ever been.

[3] This was a recent initiative in California to limit bilingual education. Extensive information is available on the website of the University of Southern California Center for Multilingual, Multicultural Studies http://www-rcf.usc.edu/~cmmr/Policy.html

[4] Language Australia, the National Language and Literacy Institute of Australia, was the remaining part of the 1987 National Policy on Languages. According to Joe Lo Bianco, its director, 'All other parts have been whittled away or converted into a tender based competitive proposals in which

Environmentalists have not only managed to get many of their concerns on the mainstream agenda but have simultaneously developed strategies for coping with the disappointment, frustration and despair, that working in opposition to the hegemonic ideology can cause. This paper will focus on these ways in which, because of their similarity in a number of respects, strategies used by those involved in preserving biological diversity and preventing environmental degradation can be applied by those involved in work to maintain endangered languages.

Terralingua, the first link

One of the formative experiences when considering how to work effectively happened during the Symposium on Language Loss and Public Policy at the University of New Mexico in 1995 at which the informal gathering of a small group of participants evolved to become an organisation that was subsequently named Terralingua[6]. This is a nonprofit organisation, registered in the United States and its aims are, preserving the world's linguistic diversity and investigating connections between biological and cultural diversity.

That the symposium had attracted participants whose main interest was the loss of biological diversity is testimony to the fact that linguists involved with language loss and environmentalists share similar concerns. The links became explicit when David Harmon, assistant director of the George Wright Society[7], explained some of the connections such as the fact that the most severe losses of linguistic and biological diversity are occurring in the same places and for much the same reasons (Harmon, in press). A significant aspect of this contact between environmentalists and language-loss workers was the explicit recognition that we needed ways to formally acknowledge the diversity among the kinds of specialists who work in such areas, whether at grass roots level, in education or in the political arena. There are different kinds of knowledge and expertise, and the privileging of scientific knowledge over folk wisdom leads to epistemological hierarchies that do not sit well in an area focussed on diversity. Only with the co-operation of people with different kinds of expertise, such as fluency in a language, traditional medical knowledge or skills in political lobbying, can we hope to be effective.

Terralingua has enshrined this in its Statement of Purpose which includes as one of its aims: 'to learn about languages and the knowledge they embody from the communities of speakers themselves, to encourage partnerships between community-based language/cultural groups and scientific/professional organizations who are interested in preserving cultural and biological diversity, and to support the right of communities of speakers to language self-determination'. Later it lists the people with whom working relationships are sought and this includes linguists, educators, cultural workers, native advocates, biologists, ethnoecologists, conservationists, environmental advocates and natural resource managers. Terralingua's activities include research, community support, education and advocacy. In 1996 Luisa Maffi, the President, organised a conference 'Endangered Languages, Endangered Knowledge, Endangered Environments' in Berkeley which was attended by academics and community researchers and advocates. Terralingua prepared a submission to the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, Working Group on Indigenous Populations, and participated in the workshop "Indigenous Peoples: Education and Language", held in Geneva in July 1998.

Terralingua is now planning community support activities, including the organization of community workshops and teach-ins, the first of which will be given at a Maori community centre in New Zealand, during the 6th International Congress of Ethnobiology in November 1998. Funding is being sought to allow similar workshops to be presented online as multimedia productions.

Shouldn't linguists stick to linguistics?

Linguists who are concerned with language loss can scarcely be unaware that their work has political implications.[8] Although this is true of all research, in some academic disciplines it seems easier to ignore and to assume apparent neutrality. From the start of my fieldwork in Kriol-speaking[9] areas of the Northern Territory of Australia I was being challenged by

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multilingualism has been completely marginalised and literacy in English elevated as the sole overriding priority' (personal communication).

[5] One Nation is a new political party in Australia led by Pauline Hanson. It has received publicity worldwide for its allegedly racist policies. One Nation is committed to one language and wants, for example, to make all potential immigrants do English-language tests.

[6] Terralingua, P.O. Box 122, Hancock, Michigan 49930-0122 USA. http://cougar.ucdavis.edu/nas/terralin/home.html

[7] The George Wright Society is a U.S. non-profit professional association of researchers and resource managers who work in protected areas.

[8] This view is not entirely uncontroversial. Nancy Dorian (1993) argues forcefully that apolitical positions are not possible, in response to earlier discussion in Language by Peter Ladefogod (1992.)

[9] Kriol is the English-based creole spoken extensively by Aboriginal people in the north of Australia.

Aboriginal people to answer questions about who decided which linguistic research to fund and why some ancestral languages were documented by linguists and not others (Rhydwen 1996)[10]. At that time I was not specifically concerned with language maintenance and loss but with the effects of bilingual literacy programmes on Kriol. It became clear that the loss of their ancestral languages was a matter of concern to many of the Aboriginal people with whom I worked and that what they most wanted linguists to do was help maintain their languages. What was less apparent was the best way to do this.

There is a romantic notion that the way to save endangered languages is to be 'out there doing it' as opposed, presumably, to being 'in here theorising about it.' Judging from discussion on the Endangered-languages list [11] many people apparently believe that the most effective linguistic intervention is for the linguist to be out in a community documenting dying languages and developing dictionaries and other literacy materials. Yet there is no evidence that such intervention by linguists leads to the salvation of otherwise doomed languages. Based on evidence from Pacific languages, Peter Mülhäusler has argued that literacy leads to the loss of linguistic diversity (1996:234). There is no doubt that writing down a language preserves a kind of record but like cryonics, postmortem freezing, does not preserve life nor guarantee the possibility of resurrection.[12] Some Aboriginal languages are being revived, such as Kaurna, Bundjalung and Nyungar. However the assumption that once a language is written down it will not die can lull speakers of threatened languages into a false sense of security. In some communities there has been a decision not to have the any local language/s taught in school precisely because of fears that intervention by outsiders may hinder cultural and linguistic maintenance. So it is not altogether clear that being out in the field transcribing language materials is the most effective or appropriate way of maintaining languages although there will always be a role for linguists to work on such projects with speakers of endangered languages.

In Australia not everyone is able to spend extended periods of time working in the extremely remote places where the most urgent need for such hands-on work with endangered languages tends to occur. This was my own situation once my children went to secondary school. Although I was rather attached to working in and with local communities, I assumed there must still be useful work to be done on endangered languages even if I had to forego the 'real thing'. Having discovered that environmentalists depend not only those who are committed to grassroots action such as planting trees or rescuing beached whales, but also on people involved in research, local or global politics, or education campaigns, I investigated their strategies more seriously.

Activists at work and play

I attended a weeklong residential workshop for environmental activists led by Joanna Macy, a scholar of Buddhism and general systems theory. She brings to her work the emphasis on interdependence which is central to her ecological perspective (Macy: 1983,1991). One of the fundamental aspects of general systems theory is the concept of feedback and I experienced the application of this theory very early in the workshop when I discovered the value of developing networks not only outside the discipline of linguistics but outside academia. Among the participants were lawyers, members and former-members of State and Federal parliament, academics, students, civil servants, retirees, small business people and full time professional activists. All of them were committed to protecting the environment in some way but most had not, until that time, specifically thought about the issue of the loss of cultural and linguistic diversity. Yet they were a readymade receptive audience and one group who regularly run environmental consciousness workshops said that in future they would include awareness of cultural diversity issues. This positive feedback in response to information I provided about language loss was a practical example of the theories of interrelatedness around which the workshop was based.

We were introduced to a variety of skills including 'strategic questioning' developed by Fran Peavey (1985;1994). This is a method of asking questions that allows people to find dynamic solutions to problems. It is particularly useful for enabling people to think about issues that they habitually avoid because they provoke anxiety. People can be asked questions that might allow them to reveal their fears about cultural domination, undoubtedly at the heart of many One Nation voters actions, such as 'What kinds of changes to Australia in the future are you most worried about?' Judicious questioning can enable people to become aware of their own insecurity, often at the basis of prejudice or apathy, in ways that allow shifts in their awareness to occur.

I have used similar techniques with students to encourage them to imagine what losing language might feel like as a way to broaden their thinking about linguistic diversity. However within a university, transgressing the Cartesian boundaries of body-mind is still often considered taboo and even students of environmental ethics and ecofeminism have to attend extra-curricular 'bushschool' to work in ways, developed by Macy and Seed, in which theory is integrated with self-awareness and even fun. During the workshop part of the time was spent dancing or making music. Despite the evidence that this made everyone feel better and more energetic, it was hard not to feel slightly guilty. As one participant laughingly said, 'What would my constituents think if they knew I was preparing to take up my seat in parliament by dancing?'

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[10] School bilingual programmes were often established in languages that had been documented in preference to those that had not.

[11] This is a discussion list for anyone interested in endangered languages http://carmen.murdoch.edu.au/lists/endangered-languages-l

[12] Preserving languages and bodies pose similar problems. A biochemist at a body freezing company who plans to have his body frozen at the time of death has said he 'is fully aware of the difficulties in bringing frozen bodies back from the dead including finding a way to find out what laid them low in the first place' (New Scientist 2/5/98).

More important than specific skills was the way the overall form of the workshop itself modelled the approach to social action developed by Macy based on her own experience of social action and theoretical background in general systems theory. The workshops combined information-giving sessions at which participants would listen, take notes and discuss issues as they would in any tutorial or seminar, with those designed to engage participants' felt experience. The latter can be very uncomfortable for people accustomed to approaching problems intellectually. Yet they are crucial since one of the key lessons of Macy's work is the understanding that people are unlikely to change their minds over matters which they feel strongly about simply as a consequence of new information. As John Seed writes, many activists assume that people do not change 'because they lack information and that the main job of activists is to provide the missing information'. He goes on to argue that, on the contrary, people block out information for fear of being overwhelmed by despair through repression of emotional and sensory data whereas 'such feedback is precisely what we need to adapt and survive' (1988:8).

Ultimately, changing the current trend for languages to disappear is about changing people's minds. Although individuals may contribute to environmental work by engaging in laboratory-based or field-based research, as a whole the environmental movement includes fund-raisers, street-theatre performers, politicians and schoolchildren. For some people it is a career, others sign petitions or make occasional financial contributions. Similarly, there are many ways to work towards slowing the erosion of linguistic diversity and one task is to develop and diversify ways that this might happen, to engage with people who are not professional linguists and to be open to innovative ways of thinking and acting.

Burnout, manifesting as physical or mental illness, is common in people who work in any helping profession which necessitates an awareness of social issues and people consciously working to try to save endangered languages can fall into this category. Jennifer Biddle (1993) has written about the dangers of anthropological fieldwork and the same dangers apply to anyone living and working in remote communities where harsh environmental conditions and lack of health care facilities combine to make living more hazardous than in urban areas. However, what makes anthropological fieldwork particularly likely to cause sickness is not these material conditions so much as 'the encounter with different others and the attempt to live this difference' (1993:187). Discussing race relations and fieldwork Gillian Cowlishaw writes of 'the complexity and ambiguity involved in hegemonic processes' [13] which is illustrated by an evocative account of her fieldwork. It helped me to understand why working in remote communities sometimes just seems too difficult. As Biddle makes clear, this is not really so much to do with lack of health care facilities as with something far more disturbing, namely doubt. Cowlishaw asks, 'If racism is a fundamental feature of colonial society, deeply embedded in the language and sedimented into everyday practice, can the practice of anthropology avoid being imbued with the racist assumptions it grew out of?' (1996:4) Whether as anthropologists or linguists, those of us who promote understanding of cultural diversity must sometimes wonder whether we are helping or just making everything worse (see also Rhydwen 1996:preface). This is a symptom of the response known as burnout.

In a description of his father's views on technological achievement J. Baird Callicott (1994), shows how easy it is for well-intentioned, sensitive and intelligent people to be very wrong. This is not a justification for doing exactly what we desire because we cannot accurately predict the consequences, rather, it is a warning against being paralysed into inaction by fear. Callicott's book, subtitled 'A Multicultural Survey of Ecological Ethics from the Mediterranean Basin to the Australian Outback' is about taking individual action as part of an interdependent system. As part of such an interdependent system, we can trust that if we are alert to feedback we will rectify our inevitable mistakes quickly.

Steps taken, mistakes already made

I referred earlier to discussion on the Endangered-languages-list (ELL). I became the list-owner when I was asked to adopt it since it was homeless and inactive. One of the advantages of academia is the support available to administer lists and web sites which serve academics even though, as in the case of ELL, the facilities can be enjoyed by anyone with an interest in the topic. It is ironic that the internet, one of the most potent tools for enabling global discussion of issues of concern like this, is also considered to be one of the causes of language loss.

In an online publication, Joe Lockard discusses this in 'Resisting Cyber-English' (1996). This continues a long tradition of using the current technology to warn against it. Plato's Socrates in the 'Phaedrus' argued that writing was inhuman and destroyed memory. Walter Ong points out, the weakness of Plato's argument is that, 'to make his arguments effective, he put them into writing' (Ong, 1982:80). The relationship between technology and cultural diversity is complex. Almost all computers use English software, or have user interfaces that are translations of English software. Yet Aboriginal literacy workers[14], who had not learned to write as children and had therefore not developed the kinds of fine motor skills necessary to handwrite clearly and were discouraged from developing literacy skills for this reason, were delighted by the advent of computers. Not only did they enable them to write at all, but they also enabled them to produce low-cost literacy materials on-site in the local language for use in the local schools.

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[13] The unpublished MS from which this quote is taken is reworked in Cowlishaw 1997.

In 1996 I attended the North West Women's Association Gathering in Western Australia. This was a gathering of women from the northern half of the state and was my first foray into discussing language loss at a community, rather than an academic, conference. The programme included keynote addresses by prominent women in politics, and workshops in a wide range of areas including: financial management for women; Native Title Tribunal; domestic violence; social justice and the environment; self defence and belly dancing. It was attended by members of parliament, academics, teachers, homemakers, all kinds of women including indigenous women. I mention this since it is rare, in Australia, to find indigenous women participating in an event that is not exclusively focused on indigenous issues. I took the opportunity to discuss language loss with many of the women but was evident that many other concerns were far more pressing. When basic needs for shelter, food, safety and health are unmet, even thinking about language maintenance or revival seems like an irrelevant luxury. Working at grassroots level means letting go of preconceived agendas and recognising that sometimes other things are far more important that one's own concerns. It is of course an aspect of all community-based work, where dealing with other issues may take precedence. As anyone who has done fieldwork-based research knows, much 'fieldwork' consists of driving someone to hospital or waiting for everyone to return from a funeral or football match.

The warning that people do not change their minds simply on the basis of information is not an argument for not providing information. Recently I have been writing a chapter for a book intended for English students and teachers (in press). As some of the potential readers may, as English-teachers, be unwittingly contributing to linguistic homogeneity, I attempted to be tactful, non-threatening and honest simultaneously. Whenever the opportunity arises I give radio talks or newspaper interviews. Sometimes there are other ways to convey the message more effectively. In my introductory lectures I have found that inviting a local Aboriginal person to give a language lesson and involve all the students in singing and playing games in Nyungar, is a forceful introduction to the issue of language loss. For many students it is the first time they have heard an Aboriginal language spoken and the story of the reclamation of Nyungar is especially poignant when explained by a speaker who is herself one of the Stolen Children.[15]

Currently, I am participating in a government-sponsored research project designed to evaluate language maintenance programmes. The project is looking at several languages, such as Chinese and Arabic, so the focus in not on endangered languages though my role provides me with an opportunity to work with indigenous language programmes in WA. My first visit to one of the schools, Langford Primary School, was inspiring because the principal and teachers were delighted to be studied because they are so proud of what they are doing and asked me to ensure I told as many people as possible! They are proud that they are teaching the local Aboriginal language, Nyungar, as a second language to all the children in the school. In the past Aboriginal languages have been taught only to Aboriginal children. Several teachers told me enthusiastically that the star student is a Chinese-Malaysian boy. Whilst I cannot anticipate the research findings at this stage, there are promising signs that introducing local Aboriginal languages in mainstream classes is an empowering and positive experience for those involved.

Last words

It is fairly easy to identify the weaknesses of almost every attempt to maintain languages especially since, as we all know, languages are continuing to disappear rapidly. What is hard to convince oneself, let alone others, is that there are positive actions that are worth taking. In this paper I have described my activities pertaining to language loss over the past few years since I became aware that so many languages were endangered and how fast they can be lost. This has included training literacy workers, fieldwork-based research, and latterly, writing for more general audiences, lobbying via Terralingua, educational consultancies and running a discussion list.

There is no one way to be a specialist and our roles in relation to endangered languages may change over time. I started life as the speaker of Welsh, a moderately endangered language. The language itself seems more viable than when I was a child, but I lost it along the way. Perhaps for this reason, because I know from experience how vulnerable speakers of minority languages are to pressure to conform, my own work focuses on educating monolingual English speakers. In addition, my extracurricular interest in social action, theories of interdependence and connections with ecologists, converged happily with my work as I became aware of the links between biological and linguistic diversity.

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[14] These were literacy workers at the School of Australian Languages (now part of Batchelor College) in 1988.

[15] The Stolen Children is the term given to Aboriginal children who were taken away from their parents as part of a deliberate policy of assimilation in a report by National Inquiry into the Separation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Children from their Families 1997.

It became apparent that threats to both kinds of diversity were the consequence of global changes, political, economic and technological, that are impossible to resist. In the face of such vast changes I thought that the usual academic responses needed to be supplemented by other kinds of action and this prompted my exploration of other strategies. The role of a specialist may be that of the archetypal field linguist but as I have shown, specialist knowledge may be used for such activities as lobbying governments and international legislative bodies and educating the wider public. Loss of language is not the loss of a concept, an abstraction, but rather it is what happens when people change their behaviour and stop transmitting their language intergenerationally. It is intimately connected with people and it cannot be treated simply as an intellectual puzzle to be solved. This is the attraction of theories, such as those at the heart of much ecological and environmental work, which emphasise the interconnectedness of people, their thoughts, feelings and their environment.

The environmental ethicist Patsy Hallen has said, 'I would want to base my ethics on inclination, not on duty. If the practice of conservation is too demanding, like a long list of tedious reminders, or if it smacks of martyrdom, most of us won't be interested. We must really want to engage in conservation practices because we find them deeply satisfying. As Germaine Greer quipped: "The surest guide to the correctness of the path…is joy in the struggle[16]." I concur. The struggle which is not joyous is the wrong struggle.'[17] Working with endangered languages too is a struggle, invariably fraught with frustration and disappointment. It is, after all, about loss. For this very reason it is valuable to include ways of working that are enjoyable since this supports and encourages those involved. Such strategies are essential to allow us to continue doing the impossible.

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[16] The Female Eunuch, 1973:330.

[17] Hallen at the conference, Ambivalence and Hope: Social Theory and Policy Making in a Postmodern Australia, Fremantle, WA 1996.

Community, Professionals, and Language Preservation: First Things First

by Hilaire Paul Valiquette

Abstract

The preservation of an endangered language involves two basic issues: i) protecting and enhancing community situations where the language is spoken; ii) ensuring that the language is the first language of the children. Only on the basis of an understanding of these two issues, can decisions be made regarding roles, teaching methods, and tools (recording, grammars, dictionaries). It is much too easy to rely on school-sponsored and controlled solutions, and on "technofix" solutions, sold and controlled by outsiders. These can relieve the community of its basic responsibility and finally undercut the effort to preserve the language (and culture).

What can professionals and community members do to preserve endangered languages? The answer is: much harm as well as good.[1] The issue is not only what is done (methods, tools), but who controls it (the politics). Because the community itself can do many counterproductive things, it is crucial that there first be clear understanding, conviction, and unity about language preservation: first internal strength, then the what and the how.

In this paper, I am talking specifically about the preservation of an endangered language (hereafter EL), as opposed to efforts to revitalize a language no longer spoken.[2] A language preservation situation involves two conditions: first, there are presently a number of first language speakers of EL, including younger speakers, in their thirty's or even twenty's, but the language is not being passed on to the children.[3] Secondly, there are still living, natural situations where the language is spoken, and these situations involve, or can involve, the whole community (and not just, e.g., older people, or a ceremonial group). But again, these situations are threatened by the use of the dominant language (translations needed, non-speakers present, situations becoming less frequent).

The need is for clarity of purpose: what exactly is language preservation; and what helps and what doesn't.[4] I will discuss the community situation (§1), and then the issue of language learning and teaching (§2). Basically I argue for a two-fold goal: to preserve the culturally appropriate situations where the EL is "naturally" spoken; and to make EL the first language learned by the children. Only when there is a clear understanding of the goal, can we talk about the role of the outsider (§3). Finally, I will comment on some several tools that are often proposed, and too often accepted without question (§4).

1. A Living language community.

This section will be brief; the main point is that any action must respect, and build on, the strengths of the community. I define a living language community as a social, political and economic unity[5] where the language is naturally spoken and protected, and where it is learned as the 1st L. Every word in this definition is, of course, problematic! I discuss the community in §1.1, and specifically language in §1.2

The community, and only the community, can preserve a living language. If the community surrenders its responsibility to outsiders, or even to a few persons within the community (such as school teachers), the language will die. Language preservation efforts must involve the total community, and not just a part of it. That is the goal; steps along the way often involve a smaller concerned group.

1.1. The Community.

The first need is to know the community and language situation. While a formal study is not necessarily, it can be helpful for the community as it tries to take into consideration as many facets of the situation as possible. I used Edwards' (1992) grid, modified by Grenoble and Whaley (1998), and further modified by myself.[6]

The social structure (the leaders, keepers of unity, various groups and roles) has to be respected and not undercut. The same is true regarding community's decision-making process and self-definition process (ceremonies, initiations, etc.). The community's control of its membership and space (social and physical boundaries) needs to be considered; motivation and attitudes need to be known and addressed.

The community is necessarily changing. Are the changes under the control of the community or imposed from outside? Outside influences and relations can be friendly or unfriendly. They include neighboring peoples with similar language and/or culture, economic and governmental interests, educators, missionaries, anthropologists and linguists.

1.2. The Language.

i) What is the EL; what is its relationship to other L's; what material is available regarding the EL? ii) Who are

EL speakers; what is their position; who are the "good speakers," with specialized knowledge, with ability in public oratory, songs, stories? iii) What are the situations where EL is spoken (family, economic, community, ceremonial), especially where EL is spoken within the whole community? iv) What are the topics of conversation?

2. Language learning and teaching.

Much of the literature on language preservation focuses on language teaching,[7] on young learners (elementary school age), and on schools. A basic (and rather standard) distinction needs to be made between teaching and ("natural") learning.[8]

2.1. Natural language learning.

Learning the language "naturally" means that the EL is the first L of the children; that kind of learning is always intergenerational. It also means that the "teachers" are 1st EL speakers.[9] To tentatively suggest some numbers for the present discussion, let's say this involves being in a natural L situation twenty hours a week, for several (say, four) years. Ideally, the EL learning situation would be full time, without any interference from the dominant L, for the first several years; if not, at least twenty hours. It is crucial to keep dominant L under control in earlier learning years (see. the comments regarding television in §4).

Even in this situation, training (see §2.2) for caregivers is usually needed, for several reasons. First, people need to be convinced that the children are not learning EL. Secondly, they need to be convinced that 1st L learning is crucial (and not rely on a school program). Thirdly, they need to be convinced that something can be done. Fourthly, the language situation is stressful; people are often angry and lacking confidence; they can end up blaming and scolding the children; they can have false expectations about how quickly the children should learn the language.

A further issue is often overlooked: young speakers need to continue to grow in their language ability (again, in a living situation).[10] It is wrongly assumed that almost all morpho-syntax is learned at an early age; that may be true in a morphologically simple language like English (though I doubt it). But in many languages there are clearly distinguished stages of language learning and appropriateness, such as the language of babies, young people, middle-age people, and old people. This involves the whole range of language: phonology, morpho-syntax, vocabulary, genres (stories, public speeches, songs, etc.), and sometimes related (or not related!) "secret" languages. These stages are often connected with passage rituals.

There is a good bit of "unnaturalness" in the situation, such as planning, training, addressing attitudes, conscious efforts, using outside help; but no intervention would involve L loss. The goal must be to make the situation as natural as possible, while recognizing the costs of any intervention.

2.2. Language teaching.

Language teaching must always be seen as "catch-up work." This kind of program is aimed at community members, of any age, whose 1st L is not EL. By definition, the students are speakers of a different 1st L. The danger is that, within one generation, the teachers will be 2nd L speakers of EL. So this work must always be done within the framework of the main goal of 1st L learning and the living language community, and never be the sole focus; otherwise, the community is in the impossible position of always "catching up." Success with the teaching program can even be dangerous, in that it may allow people to avoid the tougher question of 1st L learning.

Here especially, training is needed: aside from the reasons given in §1.1, people quite often do very wrong things, especially if they have studied a language in school (e.g., starting with writing and primers; using grammatical categories learned from the dominant language).

Teaching methods of a 2nd L should mirror, as closely as possible, 1st L learning,[11] for several reasons: the 1st L learning model is community-based; it are more effective; it provides training for the students in their own teaching. Some brief comments:

- •the teaching must be community based, in a live situation, closely connected with real speaking situations;
- •traditional teaching genres (stories, songs, ceremonies) should be used;
- •the teaching must be oral, not written (at least at first), and based on culturally relevant communication strategies;
- •the teaching should be communication-based, using full utterances and not word lists;
- •the situation should be concrete (handling concrete items, gestures);
- •there should be a progression: "total physical response" » yes/no questions » either/or questions » content questions » conversation;[12]
- •speech should be only as slow and careful as necessary.

The gross stages of language learning need to be kept in mind: first, listening and understanding, but not speaking; second, speaking, but using memorized phrases and expressions; third, creation of utterances by the learner, interacting with a speaker. This third step will seem like a step backwards, compared to smoothly produced memorized expressions. Here there are mistakes and stumbling; so teachers need to understand and be supportive. The fourth step, fluency (the ability to talk in any situation with any speaker), is still far in the future, and can only happen within a living situation. Recall the estimates given above: twenty hours a week in a natural speaking situation for four years.

If schools are part of this program, they must always be coordinated with a community-based program, and under the community's control. The teachers must be first language speakers, and the situation must come as close to total immersion as possible, teaching all subjects in the EL for several years. See remarks in §4.

2.3. Ongoing Work.

The dominant L will always be a threat to the EL, and the community will be, at best, always bilingual, not monolingual. So the task is to preserve situations where the EL is spoken by the entire community, not in a token fashion, but as the only L. That is possible only if the community fully realizes the seriousness of the situation and acts decisively. Ideally, the EL would expand into other everyday uses: repairing cars, etc. This would involve extensive word-borrowing, and brings up the further problem of L purity.

3. The Outsider's Role.

The outside helper is precisely that: an outsider who remains an outsider. The relationship with the community should reflect that position; it should be contractual, so that the outsider is hired (fired) by the community. The contract should cover: i) scope of work; ii) training for community members to do the work the outsider was hired for; iii) evaluation; iv) publishing by the outsider. In general, the outsider should do nothing that undercuts the focus, power or responsibility of the community; activities must be part of a total community-owned plan. The outsider cannot say "I do only ..." (grammars, dictionaries). If the outsider cannot provide a service (e.g., survey design), he/she can help find someone to do it.

3.1. A Selling Job.

The first job of the outsider is to convince the whole community: first, that there really is a problem of L loss; second, that the responsibility lies within the community, and not with outsiders; third, that there are ways to preserve the living language (and there are ways that don't help).

Counterproductive actions have to be challenged. Some examples are:

- anything that weakens intergenerational learning and relationships (e.g., housing decisions that separate young families from the older generation);
- anything that weakens community responsibility, such as handing responsibility over to the school, or to an "office of language preservation";
- blaming; disunity (connected with blaming);
- outside funding for programs can be dangerous: the community has to please, and report to, the providers, and dance to their tune.

3.2. Making Choices.

The second job is to guide the community in a number of choices (with the pros and cons for each choice). The community can well use a guide to questions,[13] such as the following:

- will the focus be on 1st L learning, or 2nd L teaching?
- will the emphasis be on oral or written language?
- are the teachers to be community members, and speakers?
- how will community protect, and enhance, situations where the language is spoken?
- will parents be encouraged to make their children 1st L speakers; how?
- will the center of teaching be the school or community?
- what will be done to help older non-speakers?
- will there be translation, e.g, in public meetings?
- will there be training for teachers, parents and elders; how and by whom?
- what "tools" will be used (grammars, computers, publications, etc.)?

3.3. Training.

Training of elders, parents, teachers in teaching methods again involves a selling job; fluent speakers will often deny the need for training. But training and demonstrations can help convince people and build confidence.

3.4. Language Assessment.

Language assessment should be as complete as possible, ideally including a survey (speakers, situations, attitudes), and observation. These should be done by speakers. The assessment should be part of the larger community effort to raise awareness. The outsider can help design the assessment, train observers and surveyors, help coordinate the work, do statistics, and write reports.

3.5. "Outside Work."

"Outside work" includes a review of the literature regarding L, and of EL preservation issues. The outsider can help contact comparable programs, and find qualified trainers. He/she can write plans, reports and proposals for funding agents (though outside funds are always dangerous), and do some of the legwork regarding curriculum development.

3.6. Linguistic Work.

Standard linguistic work includes writing a descriptive grammar, dictionary, recording and transcribing texts. From the perspective of language preservation, most of this work is long-range, not short-range, in view of the possible time when there are no (or few) speakers of EL. Particularly important is the preservation of encyclopedic and specialized knowledge (plants, medicine, etc.). There should be a special focus on what is "unique" in the L, in contrast with dominant L (e.g., dual forms, possessed kin terms, etc.),[14] on what may be lost (rare forms, etc.); on registers (baby talk, old people talk, secret talk, etc.). The frequency of expressions should be studied, so that teachers can focus first on more frequent expressions.

Teaching grammars and primers for use in the classroom are, in my opinion, questionable; but they may be used as backup curriculum material for oral teaching.

3.7. Material.

Material in L (texts, songs, etc.) can be recorded and properly archived, if the community so wishes. The outsider can help train people to do this recording and archiving. The focus should on community genres: songs, stories, etc. Much of this can also be used in training. The community must retain total control of this material, especially of material considered secret.

4. Comments on Specific Tools.

In general, tools can be helpful or harmful. People can become enamored of these tools and lose sight of the goal. Again, the issue is not just the effectiveness of a tool, but control by community and awareness of "side effects" and "goal displacement" (see §5).

4.1. Introduction of Literacy.

The introduction of literacy, not necessarily literacy itself, is always problematic. It takes the focus away from the elders and traditional learning, and often creates dependency on the outside linguist. Issues are control and initiative, as well as who will use it. Contrast the Cherokee initiative with other literacy efforts (see. Spolsky and Irvine 1982). Few people, especially older people, will become literate. Literacy definitely should not be used in early education, where the emphasis should be on oral proficiency.

If literacy is introduced, the focus should be on community use: minutes of meetings, community signs, newsletters, bulletins, and not on publishing for outsiders. Whether ceremonial texts or songs should be written is entirely up to the community. One argument for literacy is to overcome a perceived "deficiency" in the language; it is not a very strong argument, in my opinion. All written material must remain under the control of the community.

4.2. Teaching in Schools

School teaching is also a delicate issue, because it may substitute for community responsibility and community-based teaching. Then the school program and teachers are blamed for not accomplishing the impossible, with a program consisting of a few hours a week. Often the schools are controlled by outsiders; at times, unbelievably enough, non-speakers attempt to teach the language! The question of whether outside non-speakers should be allowed to speak the language to early learners should be considered.

If there are in-school programs, issues of training, methodology have to be carefully addressed. Ideally, there would be an immersion program, where all subjects are taught in the EL, at least for several years; that demands highly trained teachers. There should be no literacy in school unless the whole community is literate.

4.3. Computers.

Computers are the most questionable of language teaching tools. They are not cost-effective; they bypass intergenerational teaching; they often involve handing over control to technical experts. They are very often connected with bad L teaching (word lists, clicking on the face to hear the word 'nose,' etc.). Their use makes a patronizing statement: "the superiority technology of the dominant culture is saving you."

Computers do have a use in long-range language preservation, but not in language teaching: archiving spoken and written texts, preserving encyclopedic and specialized knowledge (plants, medicine), etc.

4.4. Communications media.

In the USA, at least, television has had a devastating effect on minority languages and cultures. When the television is on all the time in a house, there can be no learning of EL as a first language. I offer a simple thesis: it is impossible to preserve EL with dominant-language television ruling the sound and space of the home. On the other hand, audio and video tapes of EL stories, songs, etc., can often be helpful.

5. Conclusion.

A few comments on the theoretical background: we are talking here about intervention in a complex system.[15] A helpful analogy is that of medical practice, where every intervention has short-term and long-term costs, where there are always unwanted "side effects," often more serious than the problem addressed. There is always a questionable connection between diagnosis, treatment, and cure. There is always a question of control, power and responsibility: who is in charge, and who is ultimately responsible? There is the problem of the "success effect," where apparent success (or more often, loudly bruited success) with one approach deflects attention from other necessary aspects of the question. The purveyor of medicine is selling a product, and has turf to protect; success stories are self-serving and always questionable. Finally, there is also the problem of "goal displacement," where the goal subtly changes from the stated ideal to control issues, which undercut the essential unity of the community.

All of this applies equally to outside anthropologists, linguists, and educators. And add to this the further issue of the cross-cultural situation. What people are trying to sell as a help for language preservation must always be questioned.

The point of this paper is simply that the community must have a consistent vision of, and commitment to, language and culture preservation, before discussing methods and tools. The latter can be helpful within a total view, but are almost always harmful without it. We still hear statements like: "what linguists do best is language documentation [only!]," or see articles with titles like "computers [furnished and controlled by outsiders] help the [poor!] X tribe preserve their language." The first statement assumes (and looks forward to!) a time when there will be no speakers; the second is patronizing and racist.

Community control involves making informed choices, based on real alternatives; evaluating proposals and work; hiring, and controlling the work of, consultants. One might argue that this whole paper is as patronizing as the above statements, and there is some truth to that, except that I argue that the final responsibility must remain with the community; if the community decides to have a computer-centered learning program, I would argue that they're wrong, but it's their choice. I have stated here as strongly as possible what I would recommend; the community must make informed decisions and accept responsibility for them.

Notes:

1. One's approach, especially in this field, is always affected by experience. My recent work has been with Zia Pueblo (Keres language, around 700 people), in New Mexico. There are a good number of speakers in their 20's, and there is a bilingual program at the elementary school. The Pueblo controls its (US reservation) land, and its membership. In the past year, the Pueblo has had a language planning grant from Administration for Native Americans.

2. Confusion between L preservation and L revitalization is behind much of the justification of an exclusive focus on documentation. The argument is that since only documentation is left of a now-dead L, documentation should be the central approach in preserving a spoken L. The argument is a false one, in my opinion. Advocates for L documentation also ignore the dangers to a spoken L by reliance on documentation. Even in revitalization programs, the long-range goal has to be the preservation of spoken L situations and making L the 1st L of children.

3. The first sign is that children do not speak L with each other, even though they understand and speak it with adults (using mostly set phrases).

4. See Fishman (1991), chapter 8, regarding the need for "ideological clarification."

5. Political and economic issues are not discussed here, but not because they are seen as unimportant. Obviously, if the community is endangered physically, socially, or economically, efforts to deal with these problems take priority over any language or culture preservation efforts, and so they are a precondition.

6. Edward's (1992) "grid" form was not that helpful, but it contains a listing of topics to be covered in a community study. I would suggest adding the following questions to each topic: i) sources of information (people, bibliography, survey, etc.); ii) connected goals and activities; iii) connected resources and programs; iv) problems impacting the language.

7. Note the emphasis on language teaching in Reyner, ed. (1997); Greymorning's article on the history of the Arapaho Program (pp. 22-30) is helpful; several other articles fall into the "technofix" mentality. The previous year's conference focuses on language stabilization (Cantoni 1996); Fishman's article there (pp. 196-198) is especially helpful.

8. This distinction is not unproblematic; in §2.2 I will argue that 2nd L teaching should mirror as much as possible 1st L learning.

9. Without 1st L teachers, the L will tend toward something parallel to creolization; that is, the dominant L will influence the EL at all levels.

10. This is somewhat similar to Hinton's (n.d.) "master-apprentice" program; the difference is that she is referring to a non-speaker learning the L. Emphasis should also be placed on the connection to cultural steps.

11. For a discussion of language teaching methods, see Richards and Rodgers (1986), and Larsen-Freeman (1986), especially regarding "total physical response" and "communication-based" teaching. Add to these "story-based" teaching.

12. The point of this step-wise progression is to give the teacher confidence and avoid frustration: when the learner is progressing, there is always a step forward; when the learner is not progressing, there is a fall-back position. The issue here is to bolster the confidence of the teacher.

13. Bauman (1980) offers such a guide, but he does not offer choices, giving reasons pro and con, and the costs involved. I would disagree with a number of his suggestions, at least in the sense that he does not offer them as choices.

14. These are, of course, the areas most in danger of "creolization."

15. As one might imagine, theorists complex systems intervention (especially in medicine and community planning) are not very enthusiastic about discussing these issues! The best discussion that I know of remains the Tao Te Ching; see the translation by Gia-Fu Feng and Jane English (1972).

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Retrospect and Prospect on New Emerging Language Communities

Akira Y. Yamamoto
University of Kansas
Department of Anthropology
Lawrence, Kansas 66045-2110
[akira@ukans.edu]

Abstract

Native American teachers in a number of communities in North America have been working over the past three decades to develop language education programs, usually with extremely limited technical resources. Unlike teachers of European languages, they lack not only formal training in language teaching, now often required by local governments, but also language curricula and, even more crucially, basic descriptions of the languages they can use. For these language teachers, a variety of skills is needed: some are pedagogical (e.g. curriculum and materials development, language teaching techniques and methods). Some are sociolinguistic (e.g. how the ancestral language functions or functioned in the community, how the language shift may be taking place). Some are linguistic (e.g. data collection, analysis, and description).

Linguists are asked to revert their research results back to the local communities in which they study their languages. The results must be in the form that is easy to understand and useful. Linguists are in a position to help, but can do little without the collaboration of members of the local community who have expertise in the language and in its cultural context. Joint endeavors can create a new language community, in which skills and knowledge both of the community people and linguists are pooled to meet the goals of each community.

Backgrounds

In October of 1990, President Bush signed into law a bill titled the "Native American Languages Act" (Public Law 101-477) which states that "the status of the cultures and languages of Native Americans is unique and the United States has the responsibility to act together with Native Americans to ensure the survival of these unique cultures and languages," that "the traditional languages of Native Americans are an integral part of their cultures and identities and form the basic medium for the transmission, and thus survival, of Native American cultures, literatures, histories, religions, political institutions, and values," that "it is clearly in the interests of the United States, individual States, and territories to encourage the full academic and human potential achievements of all students and citizens and to take steps to realize these ends," that "languages are the means of communication for the full range of human experiences and are critical to the survival of cultural and political integrity of any people," and that "languages provide a direct and powerful means of promoting international communication by people who share languages." In essence, PL 101-477 declares, for the first time in the history of the United States, the importance of the Native American languages and our obligation to encourage the survival of those languages. In October of 1992, another follow-up law came into existence: Public Law 102-524 "Native American Languages Act of 1992" which authorizes funding for language programs in Native American communities.

Common Themes of Language Revitalization Programs

When two cultures come into a prolonged contact, changes in both are inevitable. Depending on the nature of the contact, different language shift patterns will result. When the contact is imbalanced in terms of some dimension of power (e.g. economic resources, military strength, religious persuasion, political control, etc.), as it often happens the shift may cause the powerless language to be abandoned and the language of the powerful group to dominate (i.e., resulting in the monolingualism in the dominant language), or the subordinate group to maintain their language while acquiring the dominant language for specific purposes (i.e., the members of the community may become bilinguals and their society diglossic). It is, however, impossible for the subordinate group to remain monolingual in their mother tongue unless some deliberate "isolation" policy is imposed or successfully implemented. When the contact of two cultures is relatively balanced, individuals in these two communities may become bilinguals resulting in societal bilingualism. Or one community may choose to adopt the language of the other community and may become monolingual in the adopted language.

These different patterns of language shift present to us two major attitudes towards linguistic diversity. One set of attitudes is the intolerance of linguistic diversity, whether diversity means different languages, different dialects, or even non-standard forms. Dorian (1998) refers to such attitudes characteristics of "Western language ideologies." Dorian (1998: 19) also notes that "there has been a good deal of consciousness-raising within the European Community recently in connection with small languages and minority languages." The European Community member states "have insisted on the national-language principle and have accepted the enormous costs of mounting interpretation services and document-translation services for each of the individual national languages" and thus, "a language ideology which has previously worked *against* small languages beginning to work *for* them" (Dorian 1998: 19). Such an entity either with a consistent language ideology throughout, or more often with conflicting ideologies among different groups of people is referred to by Fishman (1998) as "linguistic culture."

In addition to "linguistic culture" in which different language ideologies work for or against the maintenance of the mother-tongue, we find a number of other factors which seem to affect language shift positively or negatively. In general, it is found that the stronger the ethnic identity of the language community is, the more likely the group will retain its cultural and linguistic characteristics (see also Nancy Hildebrandt and Howard Giles, 1983).

In the discussion of language survival and loss, the following book are useful: Robert H. Robins and Eugenius M. Uhlenbeck, eds. (1991). *Endangered languages*. Oxford: Berg Publishers; Nancy Hornberger, ed. (1997). *Indigenous Literacies in the Americas: Language Planning from the Bottom up*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.; Lenore A. Grenoble and Lindsay J. Whaley, eds. (1998). *Endangered Languages: Language Loss and Community Response*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. The following are brief summaries of the themes commonly found in the case studies included in these books. The factors that help maintain and promote the small languages include the following:

1. Linguistic culture: when the language ideology of the dominant group is for the promotion of linguistic diversity, i.e., for members to become bilingual or multilingual and for the society to be diglossic, the small group has a choice to retain their mother-tongue or to adopt the dominant language. The decision may depend on the evaluation and judgment whether or not the retention of the mother-tongue relates to some form of "reward" (Fishman 1998). The reward may be in terms of access to economic resources (Grenoble & Whaley 1998), political resources, social stability, or psychological security.

2. Ethnic identity: when they have a strong sense of ethnic identity (based on the "reward" stated above), they will more likely to retain their mother-tongue.

3. Promotion of educational programs for people of all ages on their own endangered languages and cultures. Such programs enable speakers of threatened languages to understand the value of their own linguistic and cultural heritage.

4. Creation of bilingual/bicultural programs in the public schools whenever possible. Bilingual/bicultural programs are more flexible than monolingual ones in that they do not force speakers of endangered languages to choose between their native language and another one that may provide them with needed economic advantages.

5. Training of native speakers of threatened languages as teachers. This helps to engender support from the language community as well as ensuring a steady supply of teachers who are readily accepted in the community.

6. Involvement of the speech community in language preservation projects to the greatest extent possible. This may be achieved by going through the appropriate administrative channels, but there is always a danger of making the language a political issue. It is best to keep politics out of the language revitalization effort.

7. Creation of language materials that are easy to be used by people. Not only does this practice help to preserve the language, but also serves to create teaching materials for future generations. This include a thorough description of the language (a grammar, dictionary, collection of texts) with audio- and video-recordedlanguage interactions.

8. Development of written literature, some based on the traditional oral literature and some newly created literature. Literary tradition has proven, in the history of languages, to be an effective means of survival and enhancement of language.

9. Creation and strengthening of the environments in which the language must be used. Ideally, the home should be the place for the active use of the language. This means that the parents and other adult members of the family must be the active part of the language maintenance project. If this is not possible, some other environment (e.g., school, community meeting house, church, etc.) must be created where the ancestral language is the language of communication.

What underlies all of these is the positive attitude toward one's language and a sense of integration between language and culture. People must have a strong sense of importance of their language. Robbins and Uhlenbeck (p. 17) state: "Every language reflects a unique world view and culture complex mirroring the manner in which a speech community has resolved its problems in dealing with the world, and has formulated its thinking, its system of philosophy, and understanding of the world around it." There must develop a linguistic culture in which people believe in such power of language and in maintaining and further developing the diversity and richness of their intellectual property, language (Hale 1996).

When Rough Rock Community School (Dick and McCarty 1996), Rock Point Community School (Holm and Holm, 1995), and Hualapai community (Watahomigie and McCarty 1994) demonstrated their successful Native American language programs, both the native communities and professional academicians hailed the programs as responsive to community needs, sound academically, and effective and innovative pedagogically. The programs have been introduced and discussed at different regional (e.g., Oklahoma Sovereignty Symposium, Mid-America Linguistics Conference), national (e.g., Linguistic Society of America, American Anthropological Association, Modern Language Association), and international (e.g., International Conference of the Native American Language Issues Institute, International Congress of Americanists) meetings, and they have become known as the Arizona Models. They all have in common the following:

a. The members of the larger linguistic culture, although contains contradictory beliefs, has at least tentatively showed their support of small-language communities.

b. With different degrees of difficulties and persuasion, each of these communities have convinced the members of their communities that their languages are crucial for their children's future.

c. Although they have not been able to establish educational programs for members of all ages, they have succeeded in establishing strong bilingual/bicultural programs. They have effectively recruited parents and elders of their communities into the educational processes.

d. While they practice the bilingual/bicultural programs, they have also engaged in aggressive teacher training activities for the members of their own communities.

e. Each of the programs has produced in a variety of manners both oral and written materials for children. The use of these materials must yet to be expanded to homes and communities. That is, these programs desire to be a catalyst to create and strengthen the environment where the ancestral languages are the language of communication, thinking, creation, and belief.

Linguists and Other Academic Professionals: From Academic Settings to Communities

In Arizona since the summer of 1978, the American Indian Language Development Institute (AILDI) has been active in training teachers of Native American languages (McCarty et al. 1997). For several years now, it has been held at the University of Arizona. It has attracted teachers of Native American languages throughout Arizona, California, Alaska, Maine, Canada, and during the summer of 1996 from Brazil and Venezuela as well. The University of Arizona saw the important role of AILDI to the State of Arizona and the rest of the country, and in 1996 it committed permanent funding for the institute. AILDI continues to train Native American language teachers, ESL teachers, multicultural teachers, curriculum developers, and materials developers.

In Oklahoma, we hosted a sister institute, the Oklahoma Native American Language Development Institute (ONALDI) for three summers of 1992, 1993, and 1994. Recently, in conjunction with the Oklahoma Native Language Association (ONLA), the linguists from the University of Kansas began to conduct two-day workshops in every two months on linguistics and language teaching. The ONALDI and ONLA workshops are designed to train Native American teachers in the areas of linguistics, curriculum and materials development.

These activities that I have just mentioned are the teacher training institutes where community people come to work on their languages. Now, I would like to give two examples of budding linguists whose individual commitment to the study of languages, to reciprocating benefits, and to language revitalization, demonstrate a potential bridge from acadmeic settings to communities. During the summer of 1992, Mary Linn, a University of Kansas graduate student in linguistics, began to work at the ONALDI as an institute assistant. There, she expressed her wish to work with one of the endangered language communities, Euchee (Yuchi) in Oklahoma, and the Euchee community accepted her proposal upon meeting with her. Since then, Linn has worked with a few Euchee speakers left in the community and with the Euchee Language Committee.

The Euchee project in which Linn has been involved has dual goals: one is to conduct her dissertation research project (documentation of an endangered language) and at the same time to create a cooperative project with the Euchee community (language revitalization and preservation project). The documentation and revitalization project requires a keen attention of linguists for several reasons, including the time factor (as in the case of Delaware in 1996 when there was one 104 years old speaker, and the only speaker, in a hospital). In the case of working with the Euchee people, Linn had to take into consideration the following. First, Euchee people are not a federally recognized tribe and live under the jurisdiction of the Creek Nation, the situation of which has threatened the Yuchi ethnolinguistic vitality. Second, they recently became intensely aware of their language endangerment, and are successful in mobilizing the older speakers to re-establish the environment for using the language. Third, they began to seek outside professional assistance in recording their language and in describing the language. Fourth, Euchee has been studied to some extent by professional linguists but the description is by no means satisfactory in terms of the details and the range of information. Fifth, Euchee is a language isolate and it has to be examined without any other closely related languages for reference or comparison. Sixth, Linn has established an excellent working relationship with the elders and language revitalization project members of the community. This work is important not only for the intellectual community but also more immediately for the language community she works with. Traditionally, the academic people have "studied" varieties of peoples without returning useful materials to those very peoples they have studied. This was particularly true with academic people and the Native American communities. Only recently, academic societies such as the Linguistic Society of

America and the Society for the Study of the Indigenous Languages of the Americas began to promote vigorously their responsibilities to the language communities, and Linn is among yet a small number of young scholars who are engaged in the new collaborative approach to linguistic research in Native American communities. In her work with the Euchee people, Linn is already becoming a model linguistic whose products from the work will contribute much to our knowledge of linguistic diversity and toward the Euchee people's endeavor in the revival and maintenance of their ancestral language.

The second member of the workshops with the Oklahoma Native Language Association is another University of Kansas graduate student, Marcellino Berardo. During the spring of 1996 when he completed his oral comprehensive examination, Berardo had already begun his work with Loyal Shawnee people in and around White Oak, Oklahoma. The Loyal Shawnee is a group that has not been given the federal recognition and has been a part of the Cherokee Nation. As a part of their cultural revitalization efforts, Loyal Shawnee people began to engage in the language documentation project and, similarly to Euchee people, then the Cherokee Education Department assistant commissioner Dr. Gloria Sly, Executive Secretary Mary Tidwell, and Mr. Don Greenfeather, the Chair of the Loyal Shawnee Tribe and the organizer of the Loyal Shawnee Language Committee, wanted to recruit academic linguists to help them. They had a series of meetings with Berardo and myself to "feel" each other out and to establish common goals for the project. Loyal Shawnee people and the University of Kansas team agreed that Berardo would work with them to document the language and to prepare language teaching materials. It was also agreed that Berardo would utilize the language data in the writing of his Ph.D. dissertation.

Berardo conducted several months of intensive fieldwork with a few speakers left in the Loyal Shawnee community. In the process, the Loyal Shawnee Language Committee of which Berardo became a member has prepared language lessons with audiotapes. During the summer of 1997, more than a year later, Shawnee people began to hold regular language classes in White Oak and Chelsea. Berardo has been instrumental in designing the class--the format, content, techniques, and materials. During the several months in the fall of 1997, Berardo drove several hundred miles every weekend to be at the language classes and made sure that the classes were well organized and interesting so that they would continue to thrive.

In addition, Marcellino Berardo has been a member of the University of Kansas linguistics team along with Mary Linn and myself actively participating in the Oklahoma Native Language Association (ONLA). The ONLA has hosted a series of linguistics workshops for Oklahoma Native American teachers, and Berardo and Linn have always been the vital teaching members of the workshops. Berardo's quiet and yet stimulating approach in working with the workshop participants, Linn's infectious love of languages, and their enthusiasm in "giving life into languages" have changed dramatically the Native American teachers' perception of academic linguists. We are no longer looked at as people who would tell Native Americans what their language are like, how they should be documented and analyzed, how they should write, and how they should teach their languages. They welcome us as co-workers and team members of the language maintenance and revitalization projects. Berardo and Linn are "doing" linguistics and "practicing" applied linguistics.

Where Do We Go From Here?: Retrospect and Prospects for Academic Professionals

In June of 1994, the Linguistic Society of America issued its policy statement "The Need for the Documentation of Linguistic Diversity" (LSA Bulletin No. 144: 5). Although the statement should be read in its entirety, it "recommends that linguistics departments support the documentation and analysis of the full diversity of the languages which survive in the world today" and the LSA urges linguistic departments to give "highest priority" to those languages which are closest to disappear and to those which "represent the greatest diversity." Most importantly, it asserts that the preparation of a grammar is "an intellectual achievement" and that "the informed collection and analysis of linguistic data is thus a fundamental and permanent contribution to the foundation of linguistics," and, therefore, the LSA urges that "this work continue to be recognized as deserving through the awarding of advanced degrees and through favorable hiring, promotion, and/or tenure decisions."

Since the publication of the policy statement, the LSA formally established the Field Reports/Endangered Languages Session in the annual meeting of the society, thus giving such documentation work more visibility and providing young scholars and graduate students opportunities to participate in the meeting activities.

At the 1995 International Symposium on Endangered Languages (University of Tokyo, Japan), I presented my appeal to prepare the next generation of linguists for work with the endangered language communities (Yamamoto, 1995). I have also emphasized the importance of doing "cooperative" projects between academic professionals and the endangered language communities (Yamamoto, 1995, 1996a, 1996b, 1997). Also in 1995, there was another important conference on endangered languages at Dartmouth College and the papers have just been published by Cambridge University edited by Grenoble and Whaley (1998). In her paper, Colette Grinevald writes eloquently why we need to be working with endangered language communities, and what training we should provide for the future linguists (Grinevald 1998: 143-159).

In this final section of this paper, I will describe some of the major requirements for academic professionals who work with the endangered language communities.

1. "One of the first and foremost requirement for the fieldworkers is, of course, the skill in documenting a given language as completely as possible" (Linn et al. in press, see also Tamura 1996). Mithun (1993) stated that:

> the best response to the current crisis is not necessarily the immediate departure of every professional linguist for the field. As languages become endangered, linguistic communities become increasingly fragile. There is little time, but also little room for mistakes (emphasis added).

Grinevald (1998: 157) also says:

> There are those who believe that the best training for fieldworkers is still the sink-and-swim approach, ... The fact is that we can hardly afford to send the wrong people, unprepared people, into the sensitive and complex situations that most of these endangered language situations are. There are linguistic fieldwork issues to handle, and there are also much larger ethical/sociopolitical issues that make sheer survival of a research project a difficult endeavor.

Documentation of an endangered language, or any language for that matter, then, requires something more than providing solid training in linguistics. Grinevald (1998: 155) states that "if [the standard field method of direct elicitation] is already a dangerous method of data gathering that needs great care and control in normal field situation, it becomes often useless in the case of work with semi-speakers typical of situations of endangered languages." This calls for a thorough research on the language and its social context before we begin our work in the field. From our experience with the Euchee people, the consistent and continued talking about and speaking in the language often bring more memory back to the speakers and semi-speakers alike.

Patience with detailed plans of action is another requirement. It means to be patient with the slow progress in the documentation of the language as well as with ourselves. We will do our best in the given situation, and we can not be perfect at every stage of the work. We need to be flexible in our approach and thinking. Mary Linn (1966) states:

> Communities where there are only a few speakers, most of whom are elderly, need information about their languages fast. I found that I was often hesitant about giving information that I was not one hundred percent sure of yet. I did not want to give information that could be later found incorrect. I did not want to undermine people's trust in me, and I certainly did not want to confuse people with changing analyses. Knowing the nature of language to be much more intricate than often appears at first, I would hesitate to be conclusive. We are taught to be meticulous, and this is good instruction. But we also need to balance the immediate needs of the community with perfection. Linguists must be able to relinquish knowledge responsibly as the community needs it.

2. Once our documentation work is on its way, we need to analyze the data, organize them, and store them in an easily accessible form (written, audio-taped, video-taped, or multimedia). This is an enormously time-consuming period in our work, but also crucially important for us is to make the documentation results available minimally to the people with whom we have worked. Greg Bigler (Bigler and Linn 1996), a Euchee attorney, language activist, and language program organizer, clearly points out the importance of the language to him and his people and what the language might mean to the linguists:

> I do not identify myself as a language advocate. I do identify as a Euchee and as a member of the Polecat ceremonial ground. I have over the years worked at learning my language, and coordinated language classes and activities. My mother and aunt have aided in these efforts, as have several other elderly speakers. However, I do not believe that most of us would off-hand base our identity upon a study of the language. Our language defines us as people, as opposed to linguists who have decided to become linguists.

He comments that "if the linguistic journals are anything like the other academic articles and journals I have seen, few are written by people from the communities subjected to the studies. Thus most written definitions and concepts have little input from these communities." Dallas Dennis (1996), director of Language Project of Delaware Tribe of Western Oklahoma says that the academic documents available for Delaware people are mostly unintelligible to them. Although Delaware speakers may have been the source of linguistic information for the documents, what is written in them does not even begin to make sense to them. Thus, another requirement for us is to be able to write highly complex matters in a plain and easy to read style. We must break the myth that academically valuable information must be presented in an academically valued manner, i.e. jargon-loaded difficult style.

3. From the very beginning of the project that we begin to contemplate, we need to secure the community people's involvement. Because our work is still looked at as "another form of exploitation" of the endangered language community and because there remains a strong "belief" that we gain everything there is to be gained from the community but that they will not get anything back from us, we must engage ourselves in cooperative projects with the community where we want to work. In our work with members of the endangered language communities, we cannot remain doing fieldwork *on* the language only for the sake of science; we cannot remain to work *on* the language *for* the people (which is sometimes referred to as "advocate" or "action" linguistics, Cameron et al., 1993); we cannot even be contented with our work *on* the language *for* the speakers and *with* the speakers which Grinevald has called the "salvage linguistics" or "language revitalization." We must get us out of the "helping" mode of doing our work and begin to engage in the "working together" mode. Mary Linn (Bigler and Linn, 1996) puts this in a powerful way:

> The attitude [of being "savior" of endangered languages or "expert" in them] is still fostered every time students, or experienced linguists, pick a project, do all their background research, write a grant, and show up at the door of the tribe. Greg has outlined the affect of this within a community and to the research. ... We must begin teaching students that fieldwork is a cooperative venture, from the first contact on. This means that we need to train students how to seek out which tribes are interested in working with linguists, just as more tribes are asserting their right to say "no" to linguists with whom they do not feel comfortable, or share a common goal, or if they simply don't want a linguist. And if they do want a linguist, they should be able to choose the person who will spend significant time in their community.

In an endangered language community, where there are only a few fluent speakers, the community's language classes need all of and as much of their help. The team-work approach has another advantage here. Linn (Bigler and Linn, 1996) states this clearly:

> There are simply not enough speakers and not enough time for me to work separately. I feel it is imperative to invite the people who are interested in learning the language along with me when I am collecting data. Although my approach is different than someone who is trying to learn the language more naturally, it is still a little more time in contact with the language for the apprentices. It is also more natural to have several people sitting around talking about or in the language than just me and a consultant. It may not have gone how I planned that day--I didn't move directly from point A to point B, but inevitably my data has been better. This is going to be necessary in more and more communities. It is simply not the place of the linguist to take valuable meeting time away from community people.

A cooperative project entails steps that we need to follow (Yamamoto, 1996):

1. Meeting of the community people and outside researchers to "feel each other out" and begin to form a working team.
2. Identification of problems and/or issues.
3. Long-range planning and commitment both by the community group and outside researchers.
4. Short-term planning, establishing immediate goal and objectives.
5. Data collection procedures and methods.
6. Actual data collection.
7. Analysis and observation of the data.

(Repeat steps 4 - 7.)

8. Documentation (e.g. writing a grammar, a dictionary, a language curriculum, stories, texts, etc.)
9. Storing the documents (where, by whom, how).

(Repeat the whole process for a continued or new project.)

In this process, the linguist gains knowledge of the language and culture from the local community team-members, and they gain linguistic and research knowledge and skills from the linguist. Training in this context is always reciprocal. Empowering the community must be a part of the objectives of the team so that ultimately the community will be able to continue research on community issues and find solutions on their own. In this sense, the linguist is helping the team-members to become researchers, linguists, and ethnographers themselves, but it has a meaning very different from the "one-sided helping." Cooperative projects begin with the people and end with the people.

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Proceedings Supplement

Abstracts from the Open Forum

Ole Stig Andersen: .... The Burial of Ubykh

Nigel Birch: .... The EPSRC, Multilinguality And Endangered Languages

Joy Hendry: .... Minority Languages in Scotland

Anda Hofstede: .... The Modern South Arabian Languages

Jarmo Lainio, Birger Winsa: .... Digitalization of Regional and Minority Languages
.... One Attempt to Reverse Language Shift in Ireland, Scotland, Sweden and Wales.

J. William Lewis: .... The Politics of RLS on the Reservation:
.... Writing Curriculum in Warm Springs, Oregon.

Joseph Selwyn TeRito: .... Maori in Recent Years

Ole Stig Andersen: The Burial of Ubykh

The West Caucasian language Ubuh (aka Ubyx, Oubykh) died at daybreak, October 8th 1992, when the Last Speaker, Tevfik Esenç, passed away.

I happened to arrive in his village that very same day, without appointment, to interview this famous Last Speaker, only to learn that he had died just a couple of hours earlier. He was buried later the same day. A large number of representatives of the North Caucasian Diaspora within reach came present.

You will see a few slides from Esenç 's burial.

Following the final Russian conquest of the North Caucasus in 1864, what was left of the Ubuh nation fled as boat people over the Black Sea to Turkey and vanished.

Their remnants were traced to West Turkey in 1897 by the Danish linguist Age Meyer Benedictsen. His extensive field notes were handed over to the subsequent describer of Ubuh, Adolf Dirr. But at Dirr's death, in 1930, the two notebooks could not be found.

Benedictsen spent most of his life (1866-1927) travelling Eurasia thin and tirelessly raising support for all sorts of foresighted humanist intervention, including the independence of Ireland from England, of Iceland from Denmark and of Latvia from Russia! He was a gifted linguist, but his writings were mainly directed towards the general public.

The Last Speaker is dead, but there are still Ubuhs in Turkey. "Even a few who still know some of our language", a representative of their community in Istanbul, Özalp Göneralp, told me.

He also asked me to search for Benedictsen's field notes, should the two notebooks have been returned to Denmark. I did. But they were not in the Royal Library nor in Benedictsen's files in the State Archives. To gain access to these files I had to sign a contract that I would never contact his relatives for further information.

Ole Stig Andersen
osa@inform-bbs.dk
oss@dr.dk

Nigel Birch: The EPSRC, Multilinguality And Endangered Languages

The UK's Engineering & Physical Sciences Research Council has supported speech and language research through its IT and Computer Science programme. Recently a review of the strategy for the area has highlighted the need for research into languages other than English. The primary focus will be on languages spoken in the UK: Welsh, Scots Gaelic and the non – indigenous minority languages.

Why are we interested in these languages? For both categories there is a need to produce language technologies to aid their learning and use. In addition, EPSRC is charged with supporting research of relevance to 'users'. In the terms of this area, 'users' are the speakers of these languages and also who need language engineering tools to further their work.

In the context of the interests of the FEL, with the exception of Welsh and Gaelic, there may not seem to be much scope in looking to EPSRC for support. However, in attempting to highlight the research issues in multilinguality we have identified a number of general principles which would apply to any language. These are:

- exotic languages often use systematic processes that are vestigial in more familiar tongues. Studies of these could improve the treatment of these features in English.
- Analysis of different linguistic systems could also inform HCI. For example, how to implement effective input, sorting, searching, and output for Japanese characters could be a useful field of experiment as the application (the Japanese character) is stable.
- All languages systems are in some sense natural and validated by generations of users as 'learnable'. Therefore systems of organisation revealed by gender, numeral counters, semantic verb particles (cf English phrasal verbs) may give hints on usable new parameters for user interface organisation.

Nigel Birch
Human Factors, IT & Computer Science,
EPSRC, Polaris House, North Star Avenue,
SWINDON Wiltshire
Tel: 01793 444030 Fax: 01793 444006
Email: nigel.birch@epsrc.ac.uk

Joy Hendry: Minority Languages in Scotland

Scotland has three main languages, Gaelic, Scots and English. Gaelic, a Celtic language closely related to Irish Gaelic, was once the dominant language but, from the 11th century on, was supplanted by a form of northern Old English, later known as Scots. By the 16th century Scots had diverged greatly from its southern neighbour, but political ties with England led to increased use of English as the language of power.

Gaelic was meantime pushed further and further to the northern and western edges until today it is spoken by only about 65,000 people and is a community language only in parts of the Western Isles. Its survival is therefore in doubt but, in recent years, its status has risen and, above all, it is now much more taught in schools, not only in the Gaidhealtachd, but in the towns in the south as well.

Scots is not in the same kind of danger. Because of its close relationship with English, it is much more difficult to calculate numbers of speakers, but these are to be counted in millions, not thousands. The problem is its status: in spite of its long history and distinguished literature, it is still often regarded as a debased form of English.

It differs from English not only in its pronunciation and vocabulary, but also in grammar and syntax, and these historic distinctions are seen by some as aberrations.

Joy Hendry
Chapman Publishing
Edinburgh
0131 556 9565

Anda Hofstede: The Modern South Arabian Languages

The Modern South Arabian (henceforth MSA) languages are spoken in the south of Oman (Dhofar) and the south-east of Yemen. The languages are grouped together with the Semitic languages of Ethiopia and the Sayhadic languages (also called the Epigraphic South Arabian or Old South Arabian languages) in the South Semitic branch. To the MSA languages belong Mehri, Socotri, Jibbāli, Baṭḥari, Ḥarsūsi and Hobyōt. The extent to which research has been carried out varies from language to language. Also the estimated number of speakers varies from language to language (from about 100,000 to about 300).

The languages have a rich oral tradition. A written tradition does not exist. At ptresent, there are two systems for writing the languages. In one system, the Arabic alphabet is used. In order to represent all the phonemes with one single Arabic letter, some attempts are made to create a system of modified Arabic letters. In the second system, an alphabet is used that is a mixture of IPA and a modified Latin alphabet.

The offical language and lingua franca in Yemen and Oman is Arabic, which has a superior status. It is therefore not surprising that Arabic hass a large influence on the MSA languages, especially in the field of vocabulary. The speakers of the MSA languages are aware of this process. As far as I know there is no active support from the side of the governments to preserve the languages. Research in Yemen and Oman on the languages is permitted by the governments. At least in Oman, active government support is given for the preservation of the culture of the region.

Dr Anda Hofstede
412 Athol Road, Walley Range, Manchester
M16 8QW
<mfnxeaih@fs1.art.man.ac.uk>

Jarmo Lainio, Birger Winsa: Digitalization of Regional and Minority Languages- One Attempt to Reverse Language Shift in Ireland, Scotland, Sweden and Wales.

The project aims to use the pending digitalisation of television and radio broadcasting, combined with internet and intranet technologies, to promote participatory democracy amongst lesser used language groups and thereby strengthen cultural and linguistic diversity and pluralism. We also aim to investigate the interface between the polity and government, as well as learning that is necessary within each political culture to create effective interaction within the democratic system.

The project has several broad objectives.

- develop the use of regional and minority languages in digital fora.
- develop a digital television or radio service pertaining to regional politics for different social components of each minority language group.
- establish an associated intranet site facilitating interaction between a community target group and the various political fora.
- operationalise the interactive system in relation to an Open and Distance Learning project focusing on participatory democracy.
- study the nature of interaction between politicians, voters and civil servants within the context of participatory democracy, and to investigate the extent to which education and training are necessary within the different political cultures.
- develop internet discussion fora using groupware technology at the local and regional levels.

Besides the majority languages English and Swedish the languages concerned are Finnish/Tornedalen Finnish, Irish, Welsh and Gaelic.We discuss problems/advantages of regional/minority languages in digital fora, e.g. bilingual information, weak literacy, standardisation of spoken languages/ dialects/ varieties, expansion of practical domains, symbolic value etc.; also the social and minority policy distance between academic, capital researchers and region/peripheral 'ordinary' members of the minority in question. The project is presented from an overall perspective, but concentrates the discussion on digitalisation of Tornedalen Finnish/Finnish in Sweden.

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Jarmo Lainio <Jarmo.Lainio@finska.su.se>
Birger Winsa <Birger.Winsa@finska.su.se>
Department of Finnish, Stockholm University

J. William Lewis: The Politics of RLS on the Reservation: Writing Curriculum in Warm Springs, Oregon.

From August 1993 through May 1994, the author worked as a curriculum developer and teacher trainer for the Department of Culture and Heritage on the Warm Springs Reservation in north central Oregon. I was responsible for curricula in three unrelated languages: Sahaptin (Ičiškín), Wasco (Kikšt) and Northern Paiute (Nuwu). While some progress was made on the lessons, I felt increasingly remote from what I considered to be a real program of RLS. Even more problematical than our lack of production grammars and dictionaries were the reservation myths. My boss did not want to accept or discuss my figures of the number of fluent speakers of Tribal languages among the nearly 5000 enrolled members: 1%, 0.1%, 0.0%, respectively. While everyone said that the Whites were blocking the teaching of Indian language at the local elementary school, actually that was not the case. The issue of the Tribal languages, except for many fluent speakers themselves, whirled in a political maelstrom. Three years after I left the reservation, Sahaptin did go into kindergarten classes at Warm Springs Elementary School.

As I see it, our greatest problems were (1) denial; (2) lack of community involvement; (3) lack of understanding what RLS is, its immensity; (4) lack of personnel and other resouces; (5) lack of procedural agreement: what's the Indian way here?

'Prior ideological clarification', important as is, can in a fractured community perhaps only be approximated. Superficially assumed, it must never be taken for granted. Ideally, such agreement should allow for (1) outside RLS experts to come in and work at different levels where necessary, and (2) an opportunity for detrimental linguistic folk beliefs to be successfully combatted.

J. William Lewis
Linguistics, University of Victoria, B.C.
jwlewis@uvic.ca

Joseph Selwyn TeRito: Efforts to Maintain the Maori Language of New Zealand in Recent Years

I outline the experiences of an indigenous people in their efforts to save their language from extinction.

The theoretical framework is that of participant-observation. The presenter is a member of the Ngati Kahungunu tribe. His reflections here are based on his 28 years of active involvement in the area of Maori language revival.

The methodology used is to survey the Maori language initiatives using a mixture of talk and visual aids. Of particular focus will be Maori-medium education of nursery, primary, secondary and tertiary levels. Another area of focus will be Radio Kahungunu.

Joseph Selwyn TeRito
(EIT Hawke's Bay and Radio Kahungunu)
Faculty of Maori Studies
Hawke's Bay Polytechnic
Private Bag 1201, Taradale
New Zealand
jterito@eit.ac.nz

Foundation for Endangered Languages

Manifesto

1. Preamble

1.1. The Present Situation

At this point in human history, most human languages are spoken by exceedingly few people. And that majority, the majority of languages, is about to vanish.

The most authoritative source on the languages of the world (Ethnologue, Grimes 1996) lists just over 6,500 living languages. Population figures are available for just over 6,000 of them (or 92%). Of these 6,000, it may be noted that:

- 52% are spoken by fewer than 10,000 people;
- 28% by fewer than 1,000; and
- 83% are restricted to single countries, and so are particularly exposed to the policies of a single government.

At the other end of the scale, 10 major languages, each spoken by over 109 million people, are the mother tongues of almost half (49%) of the world's population.

More important than this snapshot of proportions and populations is the outlook for survival of the languages we have. Hard comparable data here are scarce or absent, often because of the sheer variety of the human condition: a small community, isolated or bilingual, may continue for centuries to speak a unique language, while in another place a populous language may for social or political reasons die out in little more than a generation. Another reason is that the period in which records have been kept is too short to document a trend: e.g. the Ethnologue has been issued only since 1951. However, it is difficult to imagine many communities sustaining serious daily use of a language for even a generation with fewer than 100 speakers: yet at least 10% of the world's living languages are now in this position.

Some of the forces which make for language loss are clear: the impacts of urbanization, Westernization and global communications grow daily, all serving to diminish the self-sufficiency and self-confidence of small and traditional communities. Discriminatory policies, and population movments also take their toll of languages.

In our era, the preponderance of tiny language communities means that the majority of the world's languages are vulnerable not just to decline but to extinction.

1.2. The Likely Prospect

There is agreement among linguists who have considered the situation that over half of the world's languages are moribund, i.e. not effectively being passed on to the next generation. We and our children, then, are living at the point in human history where, within perhaps two generations, most languages in the world will die out.

This mass extinction of languages may not appear immediately life-threatening. Some will feel that a reduction in numbers of languages will ease communication, and perhaps help build nations, even global solidarity. But it has been well pointed out that the success of humanity in colonizing the planet has been due to our ability to develop cultures suited for survival in a variety of environments. These cultures have everywhere been transmitted by languages, in oral traditions and latterly in written literatures. So when language transmission itself breaks down, especially before the advent of literacy in a culture, there is always a large loss of inherited knowledge.

Valued or not, that knowledge is lost, and humanity is the poorer. Along with it may go a large part of the pride and self-identity of the community of former speakers.

And there is another kind of loss, of a different type of knowledge. As each language dies, science, in linguistics, anthropology, prehistory and psychology, loses one more precious source of data, one more of the diverse and unique ways that the human mind can express itself through a language's structure and vocabulary.

We cannot now assess the full effect of the massive simplification of the world's linguistic diversity now occurring. But language loss, when it occurs, is sheer loss, irreversible and not in itself creative. Speakers of an endangered language may well resist the extinction of their traditions, and of their linguistic identity. They have every right to do so. And we, as scientists, or concerned human beings, will applaud them in trying to preserve part of the diversity which is one of our greatest strengths and treasures.

1.3. The Need for an Organization

We cannot stem the global forces which are at the root of language decline and loss.

But we can work to lessen the ignorance which sees language loss as inevitable when it is not, and does not properly value all that will go when a language itself vanishes.

We can work to see technological developments, such as computing and telecommunications, used to support small communities and their traditions rather than to supplant them.

And we can work to lessen the damage:

- by recording as much as possible of the languages of communities which seem to be in terminal decline;
- by emphasizing particular benefits of the diversity still remaining; and
- by promoting literacy and language maintenance programmes, to increase the strength and morale of the users of languages in danger.

In order to further these aims, there is a need for an autonomous international organization which is not constrained or influenced by matters of race, politics, gender or religion. This organization will recognise in language issues the principles of self-determination, and group and individual rights. It will pay due regard to economic, social, cultural, community and humanitarian considerations. Although it may work with any international, regional or local Authority, it will retain its independence throughout. Membership will be open to those in all walks of life.

2. Aims and Objectives

The Foundation for Endangered Languages exists to support, enable and assist the documentation, protection and promotion of endangered languages. In order to do this, it aims:-

(i) To raise awareness of endangered languages, both inside and outside the communities where they are spoken, through all channels and media;

(ii) To support the use of endangered languages in all contexts: at home, in education, in the media, and in social, cultural and economic life;

(iii) To monitor linguistic policies and practices, and to seek to influence the appropriate authorities where necessary;

(iv) To support the documentation of endangered languages, by offering financial assistance, training, or facilities for the publication of results;

(v) To collect together and make available information of use in the preservation of endangered languages;

(vi) To disseminate information on all of the above activities as widely as possible.

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